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PISIDIAN ANTIOCH. View from the top of the oval hill of Antioch looking over the modern town of Yalivadj

THE CLARENDON BIBLE

Under the general editorship of
THE BISHOPS OF NEWCASTLE AND RIPON
AND PROFESSOR G. H. BOX

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL
TO THE
GALATIANS

In the Revised Version

WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY

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PREFACE

THE problem of the teaching of Holy Scripture at the present time presents many difficulties. There is a large and growing class of persons who feel bound to recognize that the progress of archaeological and critical studies has made it impossible for them to read, and still more to teach, it precisely in the old way. However strongly they may believe in inspiration, they cannot any longer set before their pupils, or take as the basis of their interpretation, the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Holy Scripture. It is with the object of meeting the requirements not only of the elder pupils in public schools, their teachers, students in training colleges, and others engaged in education, but also of the clergy and the growing class of the general public which we believe takes an interest in Biblical studies, that the present series is projected.

The writers will be responsible each for his own contribution only, and their interpretation is based upon the belief that the books of the Bible require to be placed in their historical context, so that, as far as possible, we may recover the sense which they bore when written. Any application of them must rest upon this ground. It is not the writers' intention to set out the latest notions of radical scholars—English or foreign—nor even to describe the exact position at which the discussion of the various problems has arrived. The aim of the series is rather to put forward a constructive view of the books and their teaching, taking into consideration and welcoming results as to which there is a large measure of agreement among scholars. It is hoped to include a volume on the principles and logic of historical criticism.

It is perhaps desirable to add that in approaching the question of the miraculous element in the Gospels and Acts, it is proposed to deal simply with the historical evidence without any *a priori* assumptions whatever, as for instance that the world is a closed system of mechanical uniformities.

In regard to form, it is proposed to deal with subjects requiring comprehensive treatment in Essays, whether forming part of the introduction or interspersed among the notes. The notes themselves will mainly be concerned with the subject-matter of the books and the points of interest (historical, doctrinal, &c.) therein presented ; they will deal with the elucidation of words, allusions, and the like only so far as seems necessary to a proper comprehension of the author's meaning.

HERBERT NEWCASTLE.
THOMAS RIPON.

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A. THE GALATIANS

THE terms 'Galatia' and 'Galatians' could, in Paul's time, be used with two different applications. (1) The Galatian nation lived in the north of Asia Minor. They were descended from Gallic tribes which, migrating from western Europe, had in the third century B.C. flooded into Asia Minor. For some generations these tribes had ranged the country, terrorizing the inhabitants, wherever they went, by their violence and depredations. They had eventually settled down, as conquerors, in north-eastern Phrygia, in a district to which they gave the name of Galatia, of which Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium were in Paul's time the chief towns. Some extent of amalgamation had taken place between them and the Phrygians whom they had conquered. But, even in Paul's day, the Galatians held the position of a conquering aristocracy, distinct from, and superior to, the Phrygian population whom they dominated. The eastward extension of the Roman Empire had in due course brought them under Roman suzerainty. Their own kings continued to rule them, but as tributaries of Rome. But, on the death of King Amyntas in 25 B.C., the Galatian kingdom was absorbed into the Roman provincial organization, and from thenceforth the terms 'Galatia' and 'Galatians' could be applied in another than the ethnological sense.

(2) The Romans formed a province of Galatia, comprising the old Galatian kingdom, and, in addition, certain districts in the south which had never been occupied by the Galatians, though parts of them had been subjected to their domination. Such districts were those in which Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra were the chief towns. In A.D. 41 Derbe and its district had also been added to the Galatian province. Thus, if a man were speaking in terms of Roman imperial politics, he would mean by 'Galatia' the Roman province, and by 'Galatians' any people who lived within the limits of this province.

Is Paul speaking ethnologically or politically? When he calls his correspondents 'Galatians', are we to understand them to be Galatians by race, i.e. Christians in the old kingdom of Galatia, which now formed the northern part of the Galatian province? Or is he speaking politically? In this case, he might mean Christians in any part of that province, and his letter might be addressed to those cities in the southern part of the province, which he evangelized during his first missionary journey (Acts 13, 14); viz. Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe.

No unequivocal answer to this question can be obtained from an examination of Paul's custom in such matters of nomenclature. In some passages he certainly names districts by their provincial titles: e.g. Asia (1 Cor. 16^{19}, 2 Cor. 1^{8}), Achaia (1 Cor. 16^{15}, 2 Cor. 1^{1}), Illyricum (Rom. 15^{19}), and Macedonia (1 Thess. 1^{7}, 4^{10}). The last case is specially interesting, since Thessalonica and Philippi, the two chief towns which he evangelized in the province of Macedonia, were ethnologically not Macedonian but Thracian. But in other passages Paul's usage is less certain. Syria and Cilicia in his time probably formed a single province, but in Galatians 1^{21} he speaks as if he thought of them as two districts. In 2 Tim. 4^{10} he mentions Dalmatia (in one of the verses in that letter which criticism agrees to regard as Pauline); but no Roman province of Dalmatia

A General View of ICONIUM

was formed till A. D. 70. His references to Judaea (Gal. 1^{22}, 1 Thess. 2^{14}, Rom. 15^{31}) seem to mean Jerusalem and its district, i. e. the old Judaean kingdom, rather than the Roman prefecture, which included Samaria and Galilee.

So far, then, we can give no confident answer to the question, 'Who were the Galatians to whom this letter is addressed?' (1) If he was writing to the churches of Phrygia and Lycaonia in the southern part of the Galatian province, no common term except 'Galatians' could be applied to them all; for, ethnologically, some were Phrygian, some Lycaonian, while the churches would also include Roman *coloni* and Jews. Most of the converts would probably be young townsfolk, who were most likely to be influenced by the idea of the Roman Empire, and would take a pride in being called 'Galatians'; and the term 'Phrygian' had long come to be used as a cant term for a slave. (2) On the other hand, if Paul was writing to the north Galatians, he could call them by no other term than 'Galatians'. We are therefore driven further back in our effort to solve our problem. We have to ask whether Acts certainly and unambiguously records a visit of Paul to north Galatia.

The answer to this question requires some detailed consideration of two passages in Acts, viz. 16^{6-8}, 18^{23}. (1) Acts 16^{6-8} runs as follows: 'They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia, and when they were come over against Mysia, they essayed to go into Bithynia; and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not; and passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas.' Let us first notice the form used, 'the region of Phrygia and Galatia' (Gr. *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* = the Phrygian and Galatic territory). The most natural way of rendering this is to take *Φρυγίαν* as an adjective, and to understand the clause to mean 'the Phrygo-Galatic territory', i. e. the district of Phrygia which was included in the Galatian province, an exact

GALATIAN TYPES from sculptures representing the armies which attacked the Pergamene Kingdom in the second century B. C.

description of south Galatia.[1] No other interpretation is so natural. If Luke had meant 'Phrygia and Galatia', as two distinct ethnological districts, he would have used some other form (either *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, or, using *Φρυγίαν* as a noun, *Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν*). Lightfoot, in the interests of the north Galatian theory, renders the phrase 'the Galatia which was once Phrygia'; but such a reference to ancient history at this point would be quite out of place; while another suggested translation, 'Phrygia and some Galatic territory', is very unconvincing. Thus it would seem that Acts 16^6 sends Paul to southern and not to northern Galatia.

To this rendering an objection is sometimes raised, on geographical and grammatical grounds, from the form of the whole sentence in verses 6–8. As we read those verses in the English, the order of travel seems to be: (1) an unsuccessful effort to enter the Roman province of Asia preceded (2) a preaching tour in Phrygia and Galatia: (3) this was followed by an unsuccessful effort to enter Bithynia, after which (4) they skirted Mysia and arrived at Troas. If we look at the map, the conclusion from the geography is inevitable. The party was at Lystra; it worked westward to reach Asia, but was diverted east and north-eastwards to Phrygia and Galatia, until it nearly reached Bithynia, when it was turned westwards, and passing by Mysia, came to Troas. Such a route makes it almost unavoidable to take the Galatia mentioned as northern Galatia. But this inference depends for its cogency on one grammatical point. The English 'having been forbidden' represents an aorist participle in the Greek

[1] No inscriptional evidence for exactly this phrase has been found; but analogous phrases such as *Γαλατικὴ χώρα*, Lycaonia Galatica, Pontus Galaticus, are found in inscriptions; and Galen iv, p. 312 has *Ἀσιανὴ Φρυγία*. A parallel to the form here used is found in Luke 3^1 *τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας*, where *Ἰτουραίας* is probably an adjective. Passages where *Φρύγιος* or *Φρυγία* are used as adjectives are quoted in Liddell and Scott from Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristotle, Lucian, Dioscorides.

(διῆλθον . . . κωλυθέντες). But the Greek aorist participle is 'strictly timeless'; it does not necessarily imply a temporal relation of priority to the principal verb. The Greek here means only 'they passed through—being in a state of inability to', &c., and this could equally well mean 'they passed through Phrygia and Galatia, and were unable to preach in Asia'.[1] The order of travel then becomes: (1) Lystra; (2) a tour through Phrygian Galatia, i.e. South Galatia. They are working westward but (3) are diverted from Asia; so (4) they go north, but being turned from Bithynia, they go westward, and (5) passing by Mysia, they arrive at Troas. Thus both the grammar and the geography make it perfectly possible that Paul's tour was through southern Galatia, and that he did not enter the old Galatian kingdom at all.

Exact parallels to this use of the aorist participle are found in Acts 11^{30}; 'they did, sending it', where 'sending it' represents an aorist participle in the Greek (ἐποίησαν . . . ἀποστείλαντες); and in Acts 25^{13} 'they arrived and saluted' (κατήντησαν . . . ἀσπασάμενοι), where again 'and saluted' figures in the Greek as an aorist participle. Cf. other cases in Acts 23^{35}, 24^{22}. (But in some of these passages the reading is doubtful.)

(2) Acts 18^{23} reads: 'he went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia' (Gr. τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν where Φρυγίαν is probably a noun). This passage is of less importance than the previous one. It is generally admitted that, whatever was 'the Galatic territory' of Acts 16^{6}, that is also the district referred to here. It is enough therefore to say that, while the phrase here might by itself mean 'Galatia (i.e. North Galatia) and Phrygia', it might no less legitimately mean 'the Galatic territory (i.e. Galatian Lycaonia) and Phrygia (i.e. that part of Phrygia which was not in the province of Galatia)'.

[1] This grammatical point has the great authority of Blass to support it, and is strongly urged by K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 256.

The interpretation, which reads Acts 16^{6}, 18^{23} as recording visits of Paul to South Galatia, stands firm as a perfectly legitimate and natural rendering of the actual text. To fortify us in accepting it as the correct rendering, one or two contributory considerations may now be added: (1) Paul, it is likely, first met Luke at Troas. The first 'We' section of Acts begins in Acts 16^{10}. On the north Galatian theory, Paul had just come from a very successful (Gal. 4^{14}) missionary tour in a new field, and must have been full of it; and yet Luke devotes not a word to a record of that work. This silence becomes intelligible, however, if we accept the south Galatian theory, which makes Paul's tour in Acts 16^{6} a mere re-visiting of a field which he had already evangelized (in Acts 13, 14). (2) Paul tells us (Gal. 4^{13}) that he first preached in 'Galatia' through illness. He did not mean to preach there. If we accept the north Galatian theory, we must then believe that he intended to pass through North Galatia, in order to reach somewhere further east or north-east—Pontus, presumably, i.e. a distant region, well off the main track of travel and civilization; and this at a time when he was ill. Such a course is scarcely reasonable. On the south Galatian theory, all becomes simple. If, after leaving Cyprus (Acts 13^{13}), and entering the enervating climate of Pamphylia, he fell ill, it would be most reasonable for him to travel to the bracing uplands in the north, and so to reach Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13^{14}), a city within the Galatian province. (3) North Galatia, though a district of importance, was yet off the main line of travel from east to west; and Paul's mind seems always to have looked westward, to Rome and the heart of the Roman Empire. A visit to North Galatia would be very much an excursion into a by-path, in the process of Paul's career as a missionary.

We may then conclude that Acts nowhere records a tour of Paul in northern Galatia, and that its allusions to Paul's

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Boundary of Province of Galatia
Boundaries of Provs. & Kingdom of Galatia
St. Paul's Route { South Galatian Theory
Acts 16. 1–8 { North "
KINGDOM OF POLEMON
PONTUS
GALATIA
Ancyra
Tavium
KINGDOM OF AMYNTAS
CAPPADOCIA
Road to the East
BITHYNIA
MYSIA
Dorylæum
Pessinus
PHRYGIA
Laodicea
Iconium
Lystra
Derbe
CILICIA
KINGDOM OF ANTIOCHUS
Tarsus
SYRIA
Antioch
Troas
ASIA
Ephesus
Apollonia
PAMPHYLIA
Perga
Attalea
LYCIA

visits to Galatia are best interpreted as referring to southern Galatia; that, therefore, this letter is addressed to the churches of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, which he founded during his first missionary journey. Conversely also, if Galatians is not addressed to the southern Galatians, it is really surprising that there is no letter of Paul's, nor any allusion in any extant letter of his, to those churches of southern Galatia, which were the firstfruits of his missionary work. Such an argument from silence is, of course, *a priori* and precarious; but the silence would none the less be strange. If this letter, however, is written to those churches, a new light and a new interest is added to their history.

If on other grounds we are sufficiently convinced that the 'Galatians' of this letter are the churches of southern Galatia, we can now legitimately go on to remark that the tone of the letter itself is entirely in keeping with that theory. This aspect of the problem has been thoroughly dealt with by Ramsay, in his *Historical Commentary* on the Epistle. It may be confessed, even by a whole-hearted admirer of Ramsay's work, that that volume contains not a little that may be called special pleading in favour of the south Galatian theory. E.g. (1) The resemblances between the letter and Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13) may be pressed too far. That speech, after all, gives a more or less stock exposition of the Christian message, and contains little that Paul might not have said elsewhere. (2) Ramsay may be quite right in finding, in Galatians 5^{20}, references to the municipal rivalries which exercised the provincial towns of the Roman Empire. But, while he shows that such rivalries undoubtedly existed in south Galatia, he cannot show that similar rivalries would have been unknown in north Galatia. (3) Ramsay is perhaps on stronger ground when he urges that Paul's references to customs of adoption and inheritance in Galatians 3, 4 (see notes ad loc.) are more in accordance

PISIDIAN ANTIOCH. View in the Valley of Yalivadj seen in the foreground of the frontispiece

with the Graeco-Syrian law which prevailed in southern Galatia, than with the Roman law which, he supposes, prevailed in northern Galatia. But it is not certain that he has not pressed his argument further than it will bear; Paul's language is too general to be so strictly interpreted, and Dr. Dawson Walker, who has thoroughly analysed the legal language of this Epistle (cf. *The Gift of Tongues*, p. 127 f.), denies that Paul's legal allusions need be referred to anything outside the usages of Roman Civil Law.

But two other arguments of Ramsay's are more impressive: (1) the tone of authority, even of autocratic authority, which Paul assumes in this letter, would be eminently suitable, if addressed to Phrygians, who had for centuries been accustomed to expect dictatorial treatment. Addressed to the Galatian barons, it would be tactless and offensive. (2) The references to Barnabas in Galatians $2^{1, 9, 13}$ are quite intelligible, if the letter is written to south Galatia. For Barnabas and Paul were companions in their visit to that region (Acts 13, 14); the Galatians had even regarded him as Paul's superior (Acts 14^{12}); and Paul would have every reason to show that he was in no way Barnabas's subordinate. But, if the letter is written to north Galatia, we can conceive no reason why Paul makes such special mention of Barnabas in it; for Barnabas's separation from Paul is recorded in Acts 15^{39}, and he certainly was not in Paul's company in Acts 16^{6}, nor, so far as we know, ever afterwards. Barnabas, no doubt, held a high position in the Christian Church; but Paul's allusions to him are so special as to require some explanation of his reason for making them.

The only real argument against the south Galatian theory lies in the unanimity with which the Church fathers assume that this letter was written to the north Galatians. But this unanimity is of little weight in considering the question. The ethnological interpretation of Paul's terms was always an obvious one; and, since in the second

century A. D. Lycaonia was separated by the Romans from the Galatian province and united with Isauria and Cilicia, it was very easy for the Christian commentators to forget that the Lycaonian churches had ever been in the Roman province of Galatia, and that their members had ever had a right to be called ' Galatians '.

Finally, it may be added that only on the south Galatian hypothesis can the solution of the problem discussed in Essay D be held. The north Galatian theory reduces us, in relation to that problem, to the solution which is there adjudged as untenable.

B. DATE OF THE LETTER

If we adopt the north Galatian theory, we have but a narrow margin within which to place the writing of this letter. It must probably have been written after the visit recorded in Acts 18^{23} (the second visit to north Galatia, if north Galatia is meant here and in Acts 16^{6}), and must have been sent either from Ephesus in about A. D. 52 or from Macedonia or Corinth in about A. D. 55.

On the south Galatian theory, we have a much wider margin of choice. The question arises, was the letter written before or after the Church Council recorded in Acts 15.

(A) In favour of a date after the Council, the following arguments are adduced : (1) The conference referred to in Galatians 2^{1-10} is to be placed at the time of the Council of Acts 15, and therefore the letter must have been written after that Council. The problems with regard to that identification are considered at length in Essay D. Here it is enough to say that this identification seems impossible. The narrative in Galatians 2^{1-10} is of such a nature that nothing can convincingly be urged to justify us in bringing the events there recorded into immediate relation of time with the events related in Acts 15. (2) In

Galatians 4^{13} Paul refers to the conditions under which he had preached to the Galatians 'the first time' (Gr. τὸ πρότερον). This, it is urged, means 'on the former of two occasions that were already past', the first occasion being recorded in Acts 13, 14, the second in Acts 16^{6}. The letter, therefore, was written after Acts 16^{6}, and so might have been written from Corinth in about A. D. 50 or from Antioch in about A. D. 51–2; in any case it was written after the Council of Acts 15. But it may be replied (*a*) that if τὸ πρότερον does mean 'on the former of two occasions', the conditions are fulfilled by the missionary journey of Acts 13, 14, when Paul, after reaching Derbe, turned back and re-visited Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch (Acts 14^{21}), and organized the new churches (Acts 14^{23}); and that thus the letter might still have been written before the Council of Acts 15. (*b*) It may, however, be added that in the Greek of Paul's day τὸ πρότερον had generally lost its old sense of 'the former' (of two), and had come to mean nothing more than 'formerly'.

(B) The main argument in favour of placing Galatians before the Council of Acts 15 is found in the fact that the letter contains no mention of, or allusion to, the Decree which that Council promulgated (Acts $15^{23f.}$). This is really so extraordinary as to make it nearly incredible that the letter was written after the Council. That Decree definitely stated that the Gentiles need not be circumcised, i. e. it settled the point of Church practice which Paul is dealing with in the letter, and it settled it in accordance with Paul's policy. Paul writes this letter to maintain that Gentiles can become full Christians without being circumcised, and to maintain that this position is entirely in accordance with the mind of the Church. And yet not once in the letter does he state the simple and explicit terms in which that mind had been expressed. We are told in Acts 16^{4} that he delivered this Decree to the churches of Galatia, when it had been promulgated. It is

almost unbelievable that in this letter he should have said nothing to remind the Galatians of its terms, if the letter was written after the Council and the Decree. We conclude that it must have been written before A. D. 48–9, and is therefore the earliest extant Pauline Epistle. If so, it may have been written from Antioch in the days before Paul went up to Jerusalem for the Council (Acts 14^{26}–15^{2}); but, more probably, Paul wrote it while he was actually on his journey to Jerusalem (Acts 15^{3}). This would explain why, in the opening of the letter, Paul sends no greeting from the brethren of a local church, but only from himself and all the brethren who are with him.

Two difficulties may be produced in opposition to this theory: (1) In Acts 16^{3} we are told that Paul circumcised Timothy. Timothy was a native of Lystra, i. e. he belonged to one of the Galatian churches. It seems strange that, after writing so vigorously in this Epistle against the alleged necessity of circumcision, Paul should have done something which exposed him once more to be accused of compromising with the Judaizing party. We can only reply that Paul's practice with regard to Jewish observance seems to have been less uncompromising than his actual principles with regard to the obligation of such observance (cf. Essay B). Timothy was not a full Gentile, but a half-Jew. If he became one of Paul's companions in travel, it would be very inconvenient for him to be uncircumcised; for Paul and his party would usually lodge, at any rate at first, in Jewish quarters, where an uncircumcised man would be a very unacceptable guest. It is possible also that Paul would not be unwilling to make such a minor concession to conciliate Jewish feeling in Galatia, which no doubt was still sore at his letter, so long as his principle was clearly understood and accepted. We cannot rightly understand Paul, if we treat him as a mere rigorist. He simply did not regard circumcision as necessary for salvation. We have no grounds for thinking that

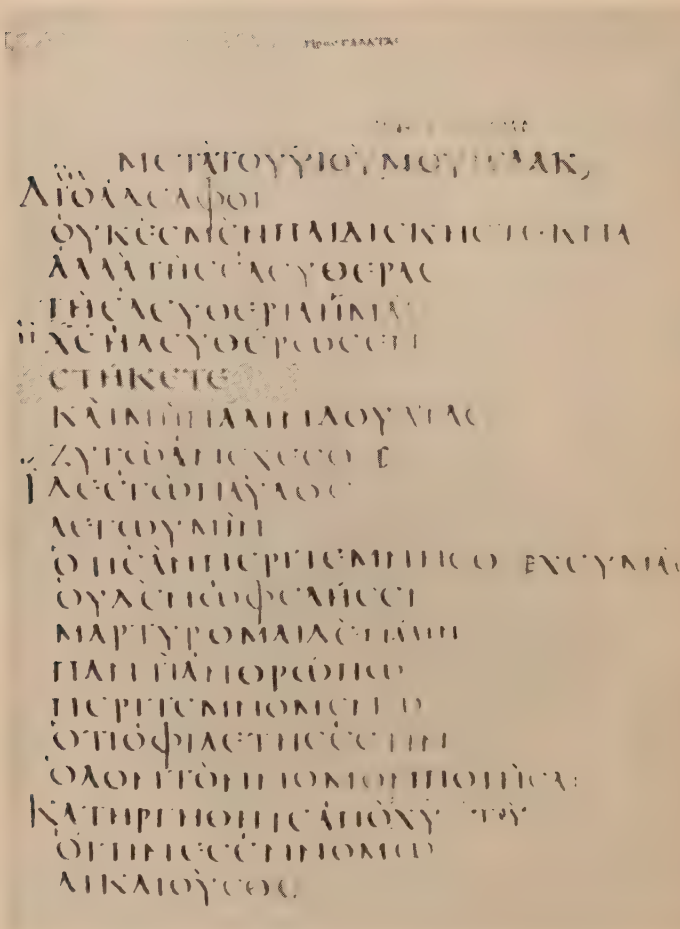
he believed it to be a custom that ought entirely to be abandoned. To him both circumcision and uncircumcision were things indifferent in themselves, for both were merely external conditions. He makes this point plain enough in this very Epistle (Gal. 6^{15}), and we cannot doubt that, in circumcising Timothy, he made it quite clear that this concession in the case of a half-Jew was to be viewed in no way as an infringement of his general principle with regard to Gentiles, or as a qualification of his firm conviction that circumcision was nothing more than a national peculiarity.

(2) The literary resemblances between this Epistle and those to Corinth and to Rome are undoubtedly very close. They extend not only to similarity of subject, but also to similarities of words, phrases, and thoughts. It is argued therefore that this letter must be from a date somewhere near to the period when those other letters were written (1 Cor. may be dated A.D. 53, 2 Cor. and Rom. A.D. 55). Lightfoot, who works out the resemblances in some detail, places Galatians after the Corinthian letters and before Romans. Such considerations will no doubt appear more convincing to some than to others. To us it seems that the historical difficulties of placing Galatians after the Council of Acts 15 much outweigh the literary difficulties involved in placing some interval of time between the writing of Galatians and the writing of the Corinthian and Roman Epistles. After all there is no reason why Paul should not repeat himself, even after a lapse of time, when he came to deal again with a subject which he had already treated. Galatians gives, as it were, his summary treatment of the essentials of the Judaistic controversy. It is likely that the phrases and thoughts of this letter, then struck out red-hot from his mind in a moment of crisis, should live on with him and be frequently a subject of reflection to him, after the letter had been dispatched. When he had to apply his principles to the particular circumstances at Corinth, or to base on them a systematic

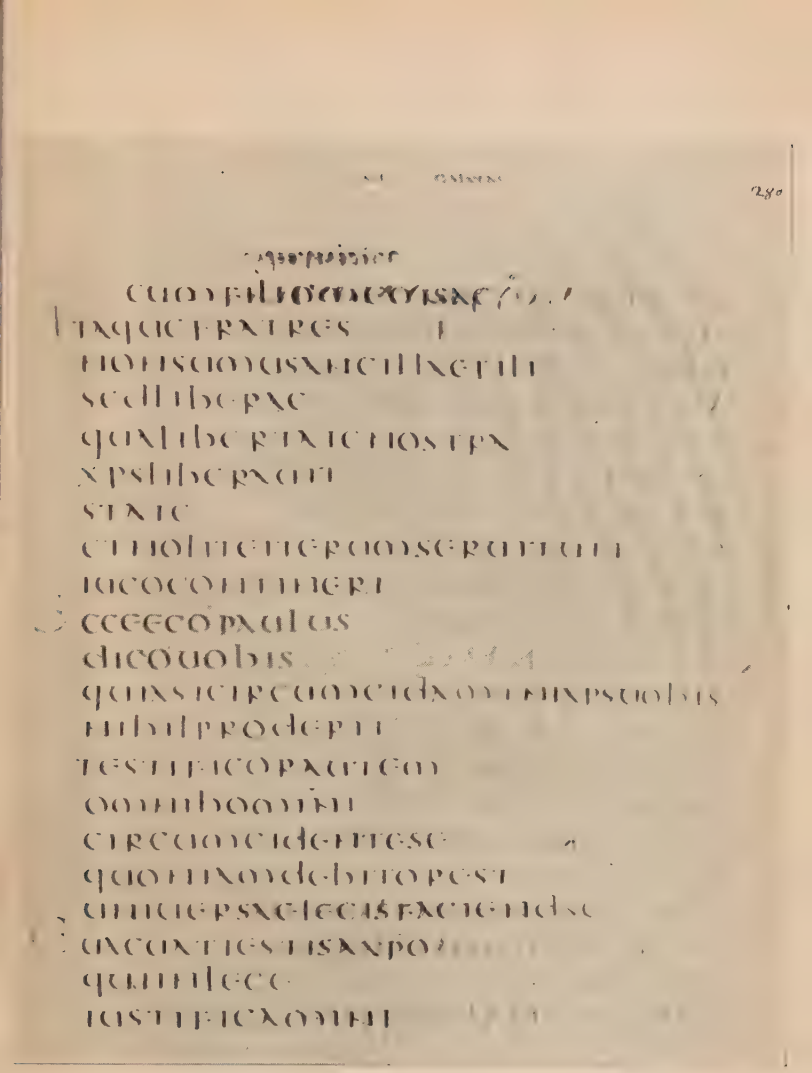
exposition of his whole case in his manifesto to the Roman Church, what would be more natural than that the phrases of his letter of five years ago should start up again in his memory and recur to him, as he dealt with the old controversy in its new applications? The idea that, because Paul at one particular period of his life cast his thought on a particular topic in one mould, he would not therefore be likely at another period to revert to the old mould when the same topic again engaged him, is an idea that has little in common with the actual facts of men's mental processes. The thoughts and language of Galatians must have frequently been in his mind, and on his lips, during the years following the writing of this Epistle. The controversy was a live one for a long time after the Decree of Acts 15 was issued; and Paul, having once struck out in this Epistle his fundamental views on the question, was not likely to lay aside the expressions which he had once given to them, in order to pursue that cheap ideal of originality which, having once said a thing well, is nervous of afterwards saying the same thing in the same way. The literary resemblances between Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans show that—whatever the length of the period during which they were written—the controversy with which they deal was alive during that period. They give no ground for any definite suggestion as to the duration of that period, or as to the limits of the time during which Paul's thought on this topic would revolve round the thoughts and phrases which he had flashed out in his letter to the Galatians.

C. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ELEMENT IN THE LETTER

Galatians is to all time the great manifesto of Christian liberty. But from another point of view it is extraordinarily interesting for the light that it throws on the personality of its writer. It does not show us the full



Pages from the bilingual Codex Claromontanus 107.



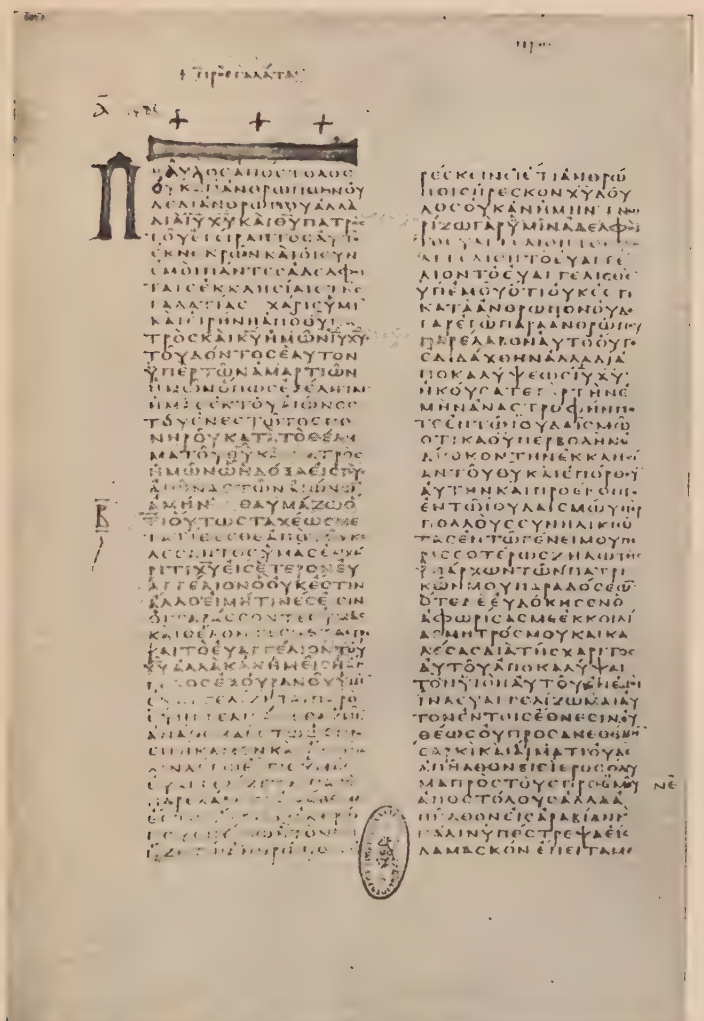
(Paris, Bibl. Nat. D 2.) See p. 30

picture of what Paul was like. Philippians and Philemon give us a more delicate portrait of the quality of his 'gentlemanliness'; in Romans we admire his power of sustained thought; while 1 Corinthians reveals his practical abilities as a Church ruler. 2 Corinthians is most near to Galatians in the particular angle from which it represents the Apostle's character.

Briefly we may say that nobody who has not read Galatians can know what a 'man' Paul was. His qualities of force and fearlessness, his power of righteous indignation, his quick sensitiveness, show in every line of the letter. No less does it reveal his freedom from every shadow of national prejudice. He was a Jew—how fervent a Jew we can see in Acts and in Romans—but he was more than a mere Jew. He had a width and depth of mind that made him a fitting leader for a Catholic Church. He is an extraordinary instance of a man who remains a member of his own nation, and yet is able to view things from a standpoint elevated above all national particularism.

Again, the letter makes plain to us the breadth and the depth of his Christian sincerity. His vehemence in opposition to the Jewish propaganda was due to his sense of the outrage which it inflicted on his conviction of the sole universality of Christ, to his penetrating insight into the real nature of salvation, to his bold staking of everything on the belief in the essential freedom of the Christian man.

With all this he is a Church statesman. It may be uncertain whether, as Ramsay thinks, he consciously saw before his mind the vision of a Christian Church of the Roman Empire. What is not uncertain is that he saw the vision of a Catholic Church, in which Jew and Gentile should be one, in which Judaism should find the fulfilment of God's promise, and the Gentiles should find the salvation for which they were ignorantly seeking. For this object he laboured. The effort to achieve it inspired his terrible zeal to secure Gentile freedom without rendering the position



Page from the Greek uncial Codex Vaticanus 1209.
(Rome, Vatican Library.) See p. 30

of Jewish Christians impossible. The task was inconceivably difficult, and we cannot hold that Paul entirely overcame all its difficulties. Christianity ceased in time to be a tenable position for a Jew, who remained a Jew. But, so far as Paul failed, he failed because the Jews would not rise to the grandeur of his conception of Christian freedom; and this conception Paul could in no way qualify. To him Christianity was the inspiration of spiritual power, and not a regimen of well-regulated conduct. Its essence lay in the freedom of a personal relation to Christ. In seeing this, Paul saw that which has ever since been the innermost truth of Christian experience. The Church has often failed to realize Paul's doctrine in its practical application. But, whenever Christianity has been at its best, it has always been a Christianity which found in Pauline doctrine the real illumination of that which it believed.

NOTE ON THE MSS.

Pp. 26 and 27. A page from the bilingual Codex Claromontanus 107. (Paris, Bibl. Nat. D 2.)

Codex Claromontanus is one of the two Bezan Codices (usually quoted as D); the other one is at Cambridge. It was probably written in the West in the fifth or sixth century, and was brought by the French scholar, Beza, from the monastery of Clermont-en-Beauvoisis. The exact relation of the Latin to the Greek text is a matter of much controversy.

P. 29. A page from the Greek uncial Codex Vaticanus 1209. (Rome, Vatican Library.)

Codex Vaticanus (usually quoted as B) is one of the two earliest Greek uncial MSS. (The other is Codex Sinaiticus (Aleph), also of the fourth century.) It was written in the fourth century, perhaps at Rome or at Caesarea. The text was revised and corrected soon after it had been written; six centuries later the faded letters were retraced by a scribe.

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THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE

GALATIANS

I–II. PAUL'S CLAIM TO CHRISTIAN APOSTLESHIP

1[1-5]. *Salutation.*

1 PAUL, an apostle (not from men, neither through
[1] man, but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father,
2 who raised him from the dead), and all the brethren
3 which are with me, unto the churches of Galatia: Grace
to you and peace [2] from God the Father, and our Lord
4 Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins, that he
might deliver us out of this present evil [3] world, according
5 to the will of our God and Father: to whom *be* the
glory [4] for ever and ever. Amen.

1[6-10]. *The issue set out.*

6 I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from him
that called you in the grace of Christ unto a different
7 gospel; which is not another *gospel*: only there are
some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of
8 Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, should
preach [5] unto you any gospel [6] other than that which
9 we preached unto you, let him be anathema. As we

[1] Or, *a man* [2] Some ancient authorities read *from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ,* [3] Or, *age* [4] Gr. *unto the ages of the ages.* [5] Some ancient authorities omit *unto you* [6] Or, *contrary to that*

have said before, so say I now again, If any man preacheth unto you any gospel other than that which
10 ye received, let him be anathema. For am I now persuading men, or God? or am I seeking to please men? if I were still pleasing men, I should not be a[1] servant of Christ.

I[11]–II[10]. *Paul's claim to independence.*

11 For I make known to you, brethren, as touching the gospel which was preached by me, that it is not after
12 man. For neither did I receive it from[2] man, nor was I taught it, but *it came to me* through revelation of Jesus
13 Christ. For ye have heard of my manner of life in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God, and made havock of
14 it: and I advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age[3] among my countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers.
15 But when it was the good pleasure of God, who separated me, *even* from my mother's womb, and called me through
16 his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Gentiles; immediately I conferred not
17 with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me: but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned unto Damascus.
18 Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to
19 visit[4] Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none,[5] save James the Lord's
20 brother. Now touching the things which I write unto
21 you, behold, before God, I lie not. Then I came into
22 the regions of Syria and Cilicia. And I was still unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in

[1] Gr. *bond-servant* [2] Or, *a man* [3] Gr. *in my race,* [4] Or, *become acquainted with* [5] Or, *but only*

THE SITE OF PISIDIAN ANTIOCH. In the foreground is the apse of a small Byzantine Church. Beyond are the Platea Tiberii and the steps leading up to the Platea Augusti. The rock above is hewn out in a section of a circle and was once faced with a two-storied colonnade

23 Christ: but they only heard say, He that once per-
secuted us now preacheth the faith of which he once
24 made havock; and they glorified God in me.

2 Then [1] after the space of fourteen years I went up
again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also
2 with me. And I went up by revelation; and I laid
before them the gospel which I preach among the
Gentiles, but privately before them who [2] were of repute,
lest by any means I should be running, or had run, in
3 vain. But not even Titus who was with me, being
4 a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: [3] and that
because of the false brethren privily brought in, who
came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have
in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage:
5 to whom we gave place in the way of subjection, no,
not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might
6 continue with you. But from those who [2] were reputed
to be somewhat ([4] whatsoever they were, it maketh no
matter to me: God accepteth not man's person)—they,
7 I say, who were of repute imparted nothing to me: but
contrariwise, when they saw that I had been intrusted
with the gospel of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with
8 *the gospel* of the circumcision (for he that wrought for
Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought
9 for me also unto the Gentiles); and when they perceived
the grace that was given unto me, James and Cephas
and John, they who [2] were reputed to be pillars, gave
to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship,
that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto
10 the circumcision; only *they would* that we should
remember the poor; which very thing I was also
zealous to do.

[1] Or, *in the course of* [2] Or, *are* [3] Or, *but* it was *because of*
[4] Or, *what they once were*

Reputed Portraits of SAINT PETER and SAINT PAUL

From the hypogeum in the Viale Manzoni, Rome, dating from the end of the second century or the beginning of the third A. D.

II[11-21]. *Paul's equality with Peter and Barnabas.*

11 But when Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to
12 the face, because he stood condemned. For before that
certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles:
but when they came, he drew back and separated him-
13 self, fearing them that were of the circumcision. And
the rest of the Jews dissembled likewise with him;
insomuch that even Barnabas was carried away with
14 their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked
not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said
unto Cephas before *them* all, If thou, being a Jew, livest
as do the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, how com-
15 pellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? We
being Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles,
16 yet knowing that a man is not justified by [1] the works
of the law, [2] save through faith in Jesus Christ, even
we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified
by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law:
because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.
17 But if, while we sought to be justified in Christ, we
ourselves also were found sinners, is Christ a minister
18 of sin? God forbid. For if I build up again those
things which I destroyed, I prove myself a transgressor.
19 For I through [3] the law died unto [3] the law, that I might
20 live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ; [4] yet
I live; *and yet* no longer I, but Christ liveth in me:
and that *life* which I now live in the flesh I live in faith,
the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me, and
21 gave himself up for me. I do not make void the grace
of God: for if righteousness is through [3] the law, then
Christ died for nought.

[1] Or, *works of law* [2] Or, *but only* [3] Or, *law* [4] Or, *and it is no longer I that live, but Christ &c.*

III–V[1]. FAITH AND THE LAW

3[1-14]. *Argument from the faith of Abraham.*

3 O foolish Galatians, who did bewitch you, before
whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth cruci-
2 fied? This only would I learn from you, Received ye
the Spirit by [1] the works of the law, or by the [2] hearing
3 of faith? Are ye so foolish? having begun in the Spirit,
4 [3] are ye now perfected in the flesh? Did ye suffer so
5 many things in vain? if it be indeed in vain. He there-
fore that supplieth to you the Spirit, and worketh
[4] miracles [5] among you, *doeth he it* by [1] the works of the
6 law, or by the [2] hearing of faith? Even as Abraham
believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteous-
7 ness. [6] Know therefore that they which be of faith, the
8 same are sons of Abraham. And the scripture, fore-
seeing that God [7] would justify the [8] Gentiles by faith,
preached the gospel beforehand unto Abraham, *saying*,
9 In thee shall all the nations be blessed. So then they
which be of faith are blessed with the faithful Abraham.
10 For as many as are of [1] the works of the law are under
a curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one which
continueth not in all things that are written in the book
11 of the law, to do them. Now that no man is justified
[9] by the law in the sight of God, is evident: for, The
righteous shall live by faith; and the law is not of
12 faith; but, He that doeth them shall live in them.
13 Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having
become a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every

[1] Or, *works of law* [2] Or, *message* [3] Or, *do ye now make an end in the flesh?* [4] Gr. *powers* [5] Or, *in* [6] Or, *Ye perceive* [7] Gr. *justifieth* [8] Gr. *nations* [9] Gr. *in*

14 one that hangeth on a tree: that upon the Gentiles might come the blessing of Abraham in Christ Jesus; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

3^{15-22}. *The Promise and the Law.*

15 Brethren, I speak after the manner of men: Though it be but a man's [1] covenant, yet when it hath been confirmed, no one maketh it void, or addeth thereto.
16 Now to Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as
17 of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ. Now this I say; A [1] covenant confirmed beforehand by God, the law, which came four hundred and thirty years after, doth not disannul, so as to make the promise of none
18 effect. For if the inheritance is of the law, it is no more of promise: but God hath granted it to Abraham by
19 promise. What then is the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise hath been made; *and it was* ordained through
20 angels by the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is
21 not *a mediator* of one; but God is one. Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid: for if there had been a law given which could make alive, verily
22 righteousness would have been of the law. Howbeit the scripture hath shut up all things under sin, that the promise by faith in Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.

3^{23}–4^{7}. *Law and Faith.*

23 But before [2] faith came, we were kept in ward under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards
24 be revealed. So that the law hath been our tutor *to*

[1] Or, *testament* [2] Or, *the faith*

bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.
25 But now that faith is come, we are no longer under
26 a tutor. For ye are all sons of God, through faith, in
27 Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptized into
28 Christ did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew nor
Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be
no male and female: for ye all are one *man* in Christ
29 Jesus. And if ye are Christ's, then are ye Abraham's
seed, heirs according to promise.

4 But I say that so long as the heir is a child, he
differeth nothing from a bondservant, though he is
2 lord of all; but is under guardians and stewards until
3 the term appointed of the father. So we also, when we
were children, were held in bondage under the [1] rudi-
4 ments of the world: but when the fulness of the time
came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born
5 under the law, that he might redeem them which were
under the law, that we might receive the adoption of
6 sons. And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit
7 of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. So
that thou art no longer a bondservant, but a son; and
if a son, then an heir through God.

4^{8-20}. *A personal appeal.*

8 Howbeit at that time, not knowing God, ye were in
9 bondage to them which by nature are no gods: but
now that ye have come to know God, or rather to be
known of God, how turn ye back again to the weak and
beggarly [1] rudiments, whereunto ye desire to be in bon-
10 dage over again? Ye observe days, and months, and
11 seasons, and years. I am afraid of you, lest by any
means I have bestowed labour upon you in vain.

[1] Or, *elements*

12 I beseech you, brethren, be as I *am*, for I *am* as ye
13 *are*. Ye did me no wrong: but ye know that because
of an infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto
14 you the [1] first time: and that which was a temptation
to you in my flesh ye despised not, nor [2] rejected; but
ye received me as an angel of God, *even* as Christ Jesus.
15 Where then is that gratulation [3] of yourselves? for
I bear you witness, that, if possible, ye would have
16 plucked out your eyes and given them to me. So then
am I become your enemy, because I [4] tell you the truth?
17 They zealously seek you in no good way; nay, they
18 desire to shut you out, that ye may seek them. But it
is good to be zealously sought in a good matter at all
19 times, and not only when I am present with you. My
little children, of whom I am again in travail until Christ
20 be formed in you, yea, I could wish to be present with
you now, and to change my voice; for I am perplexed
about you.

4^{21}–5^{1}. *Bondage and Freedom.*

21 Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not
22 hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two
sons, one by the handmaid, and one by the freewoman.
23 Howbeit the *son* by the handmaid is born after the flesh;
but the *son* by the freewoman *is born* through promise.
24 Which things contain an allegory: for these *women* are
two covenants; one from mount Sinai, bearing children
25 unto bondage, which is Hagar. [5] Now this Hagar is
mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to the Jerusalem
that now is: for she is in bondage with her children.

[1] Gr. *former* [2] Gr. *spat out* [3] Or, *of yours* [4] Or, *deal truly with you* [5] Many ancient authorities read *For Sinai is a mountain in Arabia*

26 But the Jerusalem that is above is free, which is our
27 mother. For it is written,

Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not;
Break forth and cry, thou that travailest not:
For more are the children of the desolate than of her which hath the husband.

28 Now [1] we, brethren, as Isaac was, are children of promise.
29 But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted
him *that was born* after the Spirit, even so it is now.
30 Howbeit what saith the scripture? Cast out the hand-
maid and her son: for the son of the handmaid shall
31 not inherit with the son of the freewoman. Wherefore,
brethren, we are not children of a handmaid, but of the
5 freewoman. [2] With freedom did Christ set us free:
stand fast therefore, and be not entangled again in
a yoke of bondage.

V²–VI¹⁰. PRACTICAL EXHORTATION

5²⁻¹². *Freedom and Love.*

2 Behold, I Paul say unto you, that, if ye receive cir-
3 cumcision, Christ will profit you nothing. Yea, I testify
again to every man that receiveth circumcision, that he
4 is a debtor to do the whole law. Ye are [3] severed from
Christ, ye who would be justified by the law; ye are
5 fallen away from grace. For we through the Spirit by
6 faith wait for the hope of righteousness. For in Christ
Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncir-
7 cumcision; but faith [4] working through love. Ye were
running well; who did hinder you that ye should not
8 obey the truth? This persuasion *came* not of him that

[1] Many ancient authorities read *ye*
[2] Or, *For freedom*
[3] Gr. *brought to nought*
[4] Or, *wrought*

9 calleth you. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.
10 I have confidence to you-ward in the Lord, that ye will
be none otherwise minded: but he that troubleth you
11 shall bear his judgement, whosoever he be. But I,
brethren, if I still preach circumcision, why am I still
persecuted? then hath the stumblingblock of the cross
12 been done away. I would that they which unsettle you
would even [1] cut themselves off.

5^{13}–6^{10}. *Practical application of Freedom in Love.*

13 For ye, brethren, were called for freedom; only *use*
not your freedom for an occasion to the flesh, but through
14 love be servants one to another. For the whole law is
fulfilled in one word, *even* in this; Thou shalt love thy
15 neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one
another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of
another.
16 But I say, Walk by the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil
17 the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the
Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; for these are
contrary the one to the other; that ye may not do the
18 things that ye would. But if ye are led by the Spirit,
19 ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh
are manifest, which are *these*, fornication, uncleanness,
20 lasciviousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife,
21 jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, [2] heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the
which I [3] forewarn you, even as I did [3] forewarn you,
that they which practise such things shall not inherit
22 the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love,

[1] Or, *mutilate themselves* [2] Or, *parties* [3] Or, *tell you plainly*

23 joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, [1] temperance: against such there is no
24 law. And they that are of Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof.
25 If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk.
26 Let us not be vainglorious, provoking one another, envying one another.

6 Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any trespass, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in a spirit of meekness; looking to thyself, lest thou also
2 be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so
3 fulfil the law of Christ. For if a man thinketh himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth him-
4 self. But let each man prove his own work, and then shall he have his glorying in regard of himself alone, and
5 not of [2] his neighbour. For each man shall bear his own [3] burden.
6 But let him that is taught in the word communicate
7 unto him that teacheth in all good things. Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man
8 soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth unto his own flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth unto the Spirit shall of the Spirit
9 reap eternal life. And let us not be weary in well-doing:
10 for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. So then, as we have opportunity, let us work that which is good toward all men, and especially toward them that are of the household of the faith.

[1] Or, *self-control* [2] Gr. *the other* [3] Or, *load*

VI[11-18]. AUTOGRAPHIC CONCLUSION

11 See with how large letters I [1] have written unto you
12 with mine own hand. As many as desire to make a fair
show in the flesh, they compel you to be circumcised;
only that they may not be persecuted [2] for the cross of
13 Christ. For not even they who [3] receive circumcision
do themselves keep [4] the law; but they desire to have
14 you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh. But
far be it from me to glory, save in the cross of our Lord
Jesus Christ, through [5] which the world hath been cruci-
15 fied unto me, and I unto the world. For neither is
circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new
16 [6] creature. And as many as shall walk by this rule,
peace *be* upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel
of God.
17 From henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear
branded on my body the marks of Jesus.
18 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your
spirit, brethren. Amen.

[1] Or, *write* [2] Or, *by reason of* [3] Some ancient authorities read *have been circumcised* [4] Or, *a law* [5] Or, *whom* [6] Or, *creation*

The earliest surviving representation of the Crucifixion, probably fifth century A D., on a panel of the wooden doors of the church of Santa Sabina, Rome

COMMENTARY

The notes in smaller type deal with minor questions of interpretation and allusion; those in larger type are concerned with points that are of importance for a proper understanding of the historical situation, or of Paul's ideas and main arguments.

ESSAY A. THE OCCASION OF PAUL'S LETTER

The Churches of Galatia had been founded by Paul and Barnabas. The story of their foundation is told in Acts 13, 14, and should be read as a preliminary to the study of this Epistle. The vast majority of the Galatian converts must have been of Gentile origin; many of them, no doubt, had been converted directly from heathenism; but many also must have belonged to that class which Acts calls 'the god-fearers' (Acts $13^{17, 26, 43}$), i.e. men who attended the Jewish synagogue, professed the Jewish belief in God, and observed certain parts of the Jewish law, but had never accepted circumcision or become full proselytes of Judaism. We cannot be sure whether the Galatian churches included any considerable section of circumcised Jews. Some Jewish converts there must certainly have been (Acts 14^{1}). In most places Paul seems to have had very little success in his preaching to Jews; and here also Jewish opinion (at least a very influential and determined section of it) had been violently antagonized by his preaching of the equality of Jew and Gentile in God's sight. But the Jews in South Galatia were out of touch with Palestine, and probably were somewhat lax in their orthodoxy. It is possible that among the Galatian Christians there were not a few who had come over from Judaism. At any rate it is clear that the influence of Jewish ideas and prepossessions was present in these Churches, and was strong enough to threaten a wholesale relapse of the Christian body from Christianity to Judaism.

The Churches had been established on the basis of the absolute equality of Jew and Gentile. To become a full member of the Christian community, a Gentile need not be circumcised; baptism alone was sufficient. This policy,

no doubt, Paul had already adopted in his earlier preaching in Syria and Cilicia, to which he alludes in Galatians 1^{21}, but of which we possess no details whatever; and at a private conference with James, Peter, and John (Gal. $2^{1\,f.}$) this standpoint of his (his 'gospel', as he calls it) had been accepted by the official heads of the mother-church of Jerusalem, and his ministry to the Gentile world had been fully recognized as on an equality with that of Peter to the Jews. (In Essay D the view is maintained that this conference took place before the time of the Council of Acts 15.)

But, since his last visit to Galatia, his teaching had been definitely challenged by rival teachers, whether Jews or, more probably, Jewish Christians. (The definite reference in Gal. 5^{10} to 'he that troubleth you' makes it possible that one man of influence was the centre of the opposition.) This challenge rested on two main propositions:

'(1) Paul, it was said, was not an apostle in as full a sense as were those whom Christ had personally chosen, and who had been the leaders of the Church from the beginning. The word 'apostle', meaning as it does 'delegate' or 'messenger', was of course still used in a fluid way, and was not reserved for a special and definite 'Order' of Church officials. We find the term applied in the New Testament to others besides the Twelve; e.g. to Barnabas and Paul in Acts 14^{4}; in Romans 16^{7} Andronicus and Junias are described as 'of note among the apostles'; in 2 Corinthians 8^{23} unnamed brethren are called 'the apostles of the churches'; in Philippians 2^{25} Epaphroditus is referred to as 'the apostle' of the Philippian Church. Paul was unquestionably the apostle of the Church of Antioch, definitely and solemnly commissioned by them for his missionary work (Acts 13^{3}). But it may be that the Twelve were represented as alone having the right to be called 'apostles of Jesus Christ'. Certainly a claim had been put forward—and we can see that a case might easily be made out for it—that they possessed a special pre-eminence in the Church, and therefore a special authority in matters of Christian doctrine and Church policy. Paul himself, it could be argued, was subordinate to them, and wherein his teaching conflicted with or went beyond theirs, it could be questioned as lacking real authorization.

A Greek letter of the third century B.C. *written in two columns on papyrus. A document as long as one of St. Paul's epistles would have employed more columns and a longer roll. Papyrus 2055 in the British Museum*

(2) Such a case, it was said, had arisen in his practice of admitting Gentiles into full membership of the Christian Church without requiring or inviting them to be circumcised. Paul's opponents did not, apparently, deny their membership, so far as it went, but stated that it was not yet complete (this seems to be the situation envisaged in Paul's words: 'having begun in the Spirit, are ye now perfected in the flesh?' Gal. 3^3); in order to attain to full possession of the privileges of Christian membership, circumcision was necessary as well as baptism. We can see how easily such a statement could be supported. Our Lord and the Twelve were all circumcised. The rite of circumcision had never been formally abrogated. The Church of Jerusalem had not yet ceased, in spite of persecution, to maintain its right to exist as a section of Judaism, and to hope to win the Jews as a body to become Christians without ceasing to be Jews, by simply accepting Jesus as the fulfilment of the Jewish Messianic hope. Their prospects of success in this ambition seemed even to be promising; conversions had been numerous (Acts 6^7); in Acts 21^{20} the Christian leaders of Jerusalem point with pride to the 'many thousands' of converted Jews, who 'are all zealous for the law'. It was not till the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 that the relations between Judaism and Christianity in Palestine were finally severed; James, the head of the Jerusalem Church, was, we are told, venerated by all the Jews for his austerities and his regular devotions in the Temple.[1] It was therefore not difficult, and it would even seem statesmanlike, to retain the rite of circumcision in honour, and to recommend it as a necessity for the full possession of Christian membership; and the Galatian Christians seem to have accepted such teaching readily (Gal. 1^6).

This, then, was the challenge which Paul had to meet. It was a question of principle as well as of policy, on both sides. To the Jewish Christian, the belief in the divine and everlasting authority of the Mosaic Law was at stake; and this was a belief which no born Jew could easily renounce or modify. In regard to policy, the acceptance of Paul's position, and the renunciation of circumcision as 'generally necessary to salvation', would hopelessly

[1] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 23, quoting from Hegesippus.

A painting of Romans of St. Paul's time. The man holds a roll of papyrus, the woman a stilus and writing tablets

prejudice any chance of converting the Jews to Christianity. In the case of Cornelius (Acts 11^{18}), the Jewish Christians had apparently been ready to admit the possibility of occasional exceptions to the universal necessity of circumcision ; but Paul's ministry presented to them the prospect of a Christian Church composed predominantly of uncircumcised Gentiles, and this must have excited alarm and questioning, long before the controversy came to an open issue in the dispute of Acts 15.[1]

To Paul the question was also one of policy. (1) His personal authority was called in question. This was more than a cause of personal pique ; his position as a Christian preacher and founder of Churches was undermined, if his teaching was to be always liable to suspicion and examination by reference to a supposed superior authority, which was averred to be out of sympathy with the very foundation of his policy. He must show that his practice had the concurrence of the Church leaders at Jerusalem, otherwise a split in the Church was unavoidable. And yet he must do so in such a way as not to represent himself as taking directions from a superior authority ; his independent position was the basis of all his influence, and it must be asserted. The delicacy of adjusting these two factors was extreme ; and it is to this cause that may be assigned the difficulties and tangles which at times so perplex his exposition in chapters 1 and 2 of the Epistle. (2) Considerations of policy also made it clear that to accept the Judaistic position, and to make Jewish observance a *sine qua non* for full membership of the Christian Church, was to stultify his whole mission to the Gentile world, and to doom at the outset all his hopes of a Gentile Christianity.

But, beyond this, the question was also, and especially, one of principle to him, and of a principle which in his view went to the very heart of the purpose of Christ's Incarnation. To establish national prerogative within the Christian Church was an outrage to his conviction of the universality of Christ as the Saviour of all men. And, going deeper into that realm of spiritual aspiration in which

[1] Note that the Decree of Acts 15^{23} f. settled Church policy in the matter, without dealing in any way with the deeper issue of principle. This in fact was all that it could do ; principles can only win their own battle ; no decrees can do it for them.

such a phrase ' the hope of salvation ' peculiarly applies, he saw that to make the Law primary was to produce a legalistic Christianity in place of a Christianity of inner faith and inspiration, a religion of rules in place of a religion of free response to free grace. His own experience of the insufficiency of the Mosaic Law for salvation, to which Romans 7 bears such poignant witness (cf. Essay F), was such that he could accept no claim which seemed to place obedience to that Law on a par with faith in Christ as a means of salvation. In this respect Paul—as Our Lord before him—goes back behind the Law to the teaching of the greatest Hebrew prophets. His doctrine of faith in contrast to works is a Christian version of that to which Jeremiah gives voice in, perhaps, the highest flight of pre-Christian mysticism to be found in the Bible : ' Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah : not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt ; . . . But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord ; I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it ; . . . And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord : for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord : for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more ' (Jer. $31^{31 \text{ ff.}}$). It is in the sphere of such aspirations as these that Paul's mind is most essentially at home, and it is from such that he derives all the force of his repulsion for a religion which would make Law rather than Faith its main motive-power.

Paul was unable for the time being to visit Galatia and to meet the challenge by word of mouth. This letter was his means of defence, or rather of attack. Its militant tone, its terrible earnestness, show how fundamental he felt to be the issue with which he was presented. ' This Epistle of Paul is more than a word ; it is a deed. As we read it we watch the swing of the sledge-hammer that is breaking the fetters of Judaism ' (Adeney). It is pre-eminently one of those productions—most rare in literature or in any other art—in which a man has managed so to

fling his soul on to paper that, not only do you feel the throb of the writer's life through the words, but the very words themselves seem to be alive. Such is this Epistle as literature. As a Christian document it is equally immortal. The particular controversy, in the particular shape which it took at that time, is quite dead. But, in other guises and in relation to other challenges, the issue of Christian liberty is as living now as it was then ; and this Epistle is still the trumpet-call for those who believe that the inmost essence of Christianity lies not in doing but in being, not in conformity to regulations but in manifestation of a spirit.

I–II. PAUL'S CLAIM TO CHRISTIAN APOSTLESHIP

I[1-5]. *Salutation.*

This is notably curt. The opening verses of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians should be read for comparison. Note here the brief ' unto the churches of Galatia ' without any epithet of affection, such as ' beloved ' or ' saints ' ; and there is no expression of thankfulness for any grace manifested in the Galatian Churches' life.

1. Paul sets out his personal claim at once. He is not an apostle from (ἀπό) man, but from God ; nor through (διά) man but through Jesus Christ ; i. e. his apostleship derives its source from God, its commission from Christ ; he is an ' apostle of Jesus Christ ' (cf. Essay A). He slightly blurs the antithesis in the later part of the verse. He does not say, as he might, that he is an apostle through Christ and from God ; he treats the two as inseparably one ; he is an apostle through Jesus Christ and God.

He refers his call and commission to his conversion. The action of Ananias (Acts 9[17]) was only his formal acceptance into the Christian society. The action of the Antiochene Church was but his formal setting apart to a definite piece of work (Acts 13[2-3]). Essentially he was ordained by God to be the apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. 1[16]). We would say that he felt an inner call which the human action did not give, but only recognized. This is still the general theory of Ordination.

2. *all the brethren which are with me.* Usually Paul actually names some. Here he can scarcely mean the Church of Antioch, as Ramsay suggests, for why should he not specify it? Perhaps he was on the road to Jerusalem (cf. Introd. B), and was not in company with any people of special note, except Barnabas; and he could not name him, since he was about to criticize his action in some particulars.

4. *who gave himself for us, &c.* Therefore God's grace, and not man's merit, is the ground of salvation. This is the second great topic of the Epistle.

this present evil world (*Gr.* τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ). The word translated 'world' is 'aeon' = 'age' or 'dispensation'. Christ takes us out of the present dispensation, with all its evils, and seals us for the Messianic age to come. The same idea is found in Acts $13^{38\,f.,\,47}$. And all is 'according to the will of' God. Note finally that the order of the Greek here might sanction the translation 'the age (dispensation) of the evil one who besets us', with which meaning we can compare 1 John 5^{19} and the clause in the Lord's Prayer, 'deliver us from the evil one'.

I^{6-10}. *The issue set out.*

6. *quickly* (*Gr.* ταχέως), i. e. with so little resistance. Lightfoot reads this as an accusation of fickleness, and uses it to support his theory that the Galatians were of Gallic descent, fickleness being a supposed idiosyncrasy of the Gauls. This is fantastic.

him that called you, i. e. God, who called you to the gospel of grace, not of works.

6–7. *a different gospel, which is not another, &c.* The Greek words differ here, the first being ἕτερον, the second ἄλλο. The distinction between the two in classical Greek is that ἕτερον means 'another of the same kind', and ἄλλο 'different in kind'. (This is agreed now; Lightfoot, who reversed the terms of the distinction, is admitted to have been mistaken.) But in Paul's time the distinction between the two Greek adjectives had practically vanished in common use. It is better therefore to expel the colon (we may remember that the Greek MS. would have contained no marks of punctuation), after the word 'gospel'. We then get a perfectly

idiomatic Greek phrase (ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο εἰ μή τινές εἰσιν κτλ.), which means ' a different gospel, which is nothing else except that certain are troubling you, &c.' The error of the Judaizers lay in the endeavour to make essential what (to Paul) was not essential. Paul has no wish to un-church Jewish Christianity, but he will not allow that circumcision makes a distinction in the gospel as such ; and he wishes to obtain for non-Jewish Christianity a fully-established position in the Church.

8. *we.* So Paul was accused of inconsistency ; cf. Galatians 1^{10}, 5^{11}, and Essay B.

Anathema. Fragment of a Greek wine-cup of the fifth century B. C., dedicated in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naucratis. The owner, by scratching the name Aphrodite into the glaze, devotes it to the service of the goddess, and brings a curse on any profane user.

an angel from heaven. Probably nothing more than an accidental coincidence is to be seen in the incident at Lystra (Acts 14^{12}), where Paul and Barnabas were treated as gods come down to earth, and Paul was supposed to be Hermes, the messenger of Zeus.

anathema. Spiritual rather than ecclesiastical condemnation is probably here intended. The word ἀνάθεμα or ἀνάθημα in Greek could mean either something offered or dedicated, or something devoted by a curse, i. e. something accursed. In the Septuagint, however, the word is regularly used to translate the Hebrew ' *herem* ' = a thing devoted to God, usually for destruction.

9. This is not mere reiteration, but refers to his first

preaching in Galatia, when, no doubt, in his preaching to the Gentiles, Paul had already had to meet Jewish objections which demanded their circumcision.

10. Paul hints that he had been accused of time-serving. Cf. Essay B. Here, at any rate, he means to lay down without compromise his fundamental principle. The first sentence is rhetorically put. The sense is 'am I now trying to persuade men by compromise? Or am I dealing with God?'

ESSAY B. PAUL'S RELATION TO JUDAISM

The Epistle to the Galatians repudiates outright the Jewish view of the Mosaic Law as a code which, because it was divinely ordained, was therefore of everlasting validity, and must be observed as a condition of salvation. Paul comes before us in the letter as a man who hates compromise and is relentlessly faithful to his principles. That, in his inmost essence, he was such, we may well suspect; and we can see that the situation in the Church needed a man who at least was no less than this.

It is therefore rather a shock to find that he was accused by his opponents of time-serving and inconsistency (of 'persuading' and 'pleasing men', Gal. 1^{10}), and even of 'preaching circumcision' (Gal. 5^{11}). What can he have done to give a chance to such charges? Granted that enemies were making them, yet even enemies would not accuse a man on charges which were palpably absurd; and Paul seems to have considered the charges serious enough to deserve serious treatment, in a letter where he is too much in earnest to waste time in dealing with merely frivolous insinuations.

In a famous passage (1 Cor. $9^{20\,f.}$) Paul claims that he had become 'all things to all men', that he might 'by all means save some'. 'To the Jews I became as a Jew . . . to them that are under the law, as under the law . . . to them that are without law, as without law.' Here he lays claim to something more than ordinary broad-minded tolerance of diversities of opinion; he definitely asserts that his practice in relation to Judaistic observances has

been opportunist. That this claim is just, Acts makes plain; we read there not only that he fraternized with converted heathen, but also that he circumcised Timothy (Acts 16^3), that he observed the ritual of Jewish vows (ibid. 18^{18}), and that on at least one occasion he consented to a compromise with Jewish feeling for the sake of peace (ibid. $21^{23\,f.}$). It looks as if he had certainly exposed himself to the charge of inconsistency; at least we must try to understand how a man who could write this Epistle could yet act so apparently at variance with the principle which it proclaims.

The logic of Paul's views, as expounded in Galatians, leads to but one conclusion, viz. that circumcision is unnecessary for anybody. This in fact was the position to which the Church ultimately arrived.[1] We do not know whether Paul ever got so far as to declare overtly that a Christian, born of Jewish parents, need not be circumcised. But such a view was implicit in his doctrine of the supersession of the Law. He certainly got so far as to say that circumcision was a thing wholly indifferent (Gal. 6^{15}), a rite which for spiritual purposes did not matter at all.

But, at the time of the Judaistic controversy, which covers the main part of Paul's missionary activity, the highest considerations of Church statesmanship prescribed the preservation of harmony and unity as a supreme aim. The issue at stake was not whether the Church should be Jewish or Gentile—that could easily have been settled—but how the Church could be so directed as to accommodate, by reciprocal concessions, both Jew and Gentile within its fold. This being the issue, so long as the Gentiles were not compelled to be circumcised (this being Paul's special sphere of interest), nor treated as inferior Christians because they were not circumcised, no vital harm would be done, and good might be effected, by conceding the legitimacy, or even the duty, of Jewish observance on the part of Jews. A purely Paulinist Church, in which nobody would be circumcised, might evolve in time; it was likely that children, born to Jewish parents after their acceptance of Christianity, would in time cease to be circumcised, and so the issue would solve itself. Mean-

[1] Cf. Acts in this series, Essay C, for the stages by which this was reached.

while it was obviously politic for Paul not to force a conflict, but to compromise so far as to allow Jewish practices for Jews, though he repudiated them for Gentiles. So viewing the position, we are less surprised at Paul's compromise than at the vehemence of his language in Galatians, where he rejects the Jewish Law not only in practice but in principle also. No Jew or Jewish-minded Christian could possibly read the Epistle without anger and resentment; from the point of view of general Church policy, it did not conduce to peace or make things easier for the Jewish Christians. The circumstances probably account for Paul's remorselessness. The challenge had been wanton; the case was a test-case of crucial importance. In his Epistle to the Romans Paul traverses the same ground, but speaks with far more moderation, and with qualifications which would make that letter far less offensive to Jewish Christian readers. We must remember also that Paul's letter is in no sense a public manifesto to the world at large. It was an 'occasional' utterance, sent to one particular set of Christians. The Jewish Christians of Galatia would no doubt writhe at its language; but they were probably not a large body; and acts of concession might mitigate their anger. This probably accounts for Paul's willingness later (if our view of the date of the Epistle is correct) to circumcise the half-Jew Timothy (Acts 16^3). If his principle was accepted, Paul was a big enough man to be ready to make moderate concessions in practice, after he had written this letter, no less than before.

Paul's concessions to Jewish feeling were, however, not due merely to cold-blooded considerations of wise policy. He was himself a Jew, and a fervently patriotic Jew; as such, he could not bring himself to renounce all hope for a fulfilment of God's promises to his nation as a nation (cf. Rom. 9^{1-5}, 10^{1-4}, $11^{1-5, 13-26}$). He seems, in Romans at any rate, to reach the position that the Jews are to keep the Law, not as a way of salvation, but as God's ordained way of life for them, against the time when their nation shall be redeemed. This qualification would, in other cases, have introduced no inconsistency into his main position. Though national distinctions are not final, they are real; and no harm to Christianity would generally be done by

recognizing the existence of national peculiarities of custom and even of religious custom. But the Mosaic Law could not be so treated. If a Jew kept the Law, he kept it as a divinely-ordained means of salvation, the charge of which gave him a special prerogative over other nations in God's sight. To treat it as a mere national peculiarity was in effect to abrogate it. In practice too, if the Law forbade a Jew to consort with an uncircumcised man, a Jewish Christian could not obey the Law and at the same time fraternize fully with Gentile Christians, and so a harmonious Church life, in which Jew and Gentile could take part on equal terms, became impracticable, so long as Jewish Christians observed the Law. This rigorous exclusiveness had, it is true, already undergone much modification in the life of Jews in Gentile cities, and uncircumcised Gentiles had been admitted on certain conditions to the position of ' adherents ' in the Jewish synagogues of the Dispersion. But this liberalism was not approved by the strict canons of Jewish orthodoxy ; and even where it was allowed, such Gentiles were regarded as an outer fringe, and not as full members of the Jewish community. Such a relation between Jewish and Gentile Christians would certainly not have satisfied Paul's ideal. Indeed this Epistle is directed against the very effort to establish some such situation in the Christian Churches as had existed in many Jewish synagogues.

It may be of some service to hazard, in parenthesis, the suggestion that the difference of outlook between Paul and his Jewish opponents goes ultimately down to a deep-set divergence in the Monotheistic conceptions which they respectively hold. The Jews held one type of Monotheistic belief. There was but one God in the universe. This God was Yahweh, their God. All other Gods were nothing. Therefore, if Yahweh had ordained the Law, He had ordained it for all nations alike, and for all time. Jewish Monotheism in fact started from a belief in a national God and extended His sway to cover the world. That which He had ordained, He had ordained for ever and for all. Paul, on the other hand, holds a more philosophical view. There is but one God in the universe, revealed as Yahweh to the Jews, ' felt after ' and worshipped, though ' ignorantly ', by the heathen, who therefore in some degree

had known Him, even in their very ignorance. Thus Paul finds room for the ideas of (1) progress in revelation and (2) various partial revelations of the one God. The Law, therefore, ordained by Yahweh for the Jews, was part of his method of education for them, until 'that which was perfect had come'; but it was not necessarily intended for all, nor for all time. The preparation of the Gentiles for Christ had been carried on by a different method, and the Law of Moses had therefore no place in their education. We need not think that Paul had consciously worked out this line of thought, but there is little question that in some passages of his Epistles (cf. especially Rom. $2^{14\,f.}$, $2^{26\,f.}$, $3^{29\,f.}$), as in his speeches at Lystra and Athens (Acts $14^{15\,f.}$, $17^{22\,f.}$), he lays the first foundations of the modern Christian philosophy of revelation.

Returning from this digression, we may conclude that the position which Paul tried to hold was logically untenable. In a Catholic Church there was no room for the Jewish Law on any terms on which it would still be 'the Law'. But we can also see that—Paul being what he was, a Jew and yet a Universalist, and the situation being what it was, a situation that depended wholly on the possibility of finding terms of accommodation between Jew and Gentile within the Church—Paul could hardly take any other position than that which he did take. He lived, in fact, in a transitional time. The Church was feeling its way to Catholicity, but was still very near to its Jewish source. To such a condition of circumstances Paul had to fit his actions. The process, we may suspect, was often very uncongenial to his inmost nature; and it was bound to expose him to misunderstandings. His repudiation of legalism might be, and was, twisted into an encouragement to 'antinomianism', i.e. the rejection of all regulation. His concessions to Judaism might be, and were, perverted into an accusation that he preached circumcision. His attempt to establish an accommodation between Jew and Gentile brought on him the charge of time-serving. But it is also plain that such a charge, superficially legitimate as it might seem, was radically unjust. The ambiguity lay in the nature of the circumstances with which he had to deal, and of the emergencies of the Church situation in his time. He was a champion of Christian freedom, and had

to preach freedom to a Church, part of which was not yet emancipated from the power of venerable rules, while another part was only too likely to turn freedom into a permission of licence. In such a position, it is not his least title to fame that he never sacrificed Christian liberty to the claims of policy, and yet never lost sight of the claims of charity and prudence to be heard in the application of principles. He was, in fact, much more than a 'no-compromise' man. He was a man who was so sure of his principles that he was above the small-minded fear of making concessions. The love of Christian freedom and the desire for Christian unity were twin influences at work in his whole life and ministry.

It is obvious that to accommodate those two influences to one another is peculiarly difficult. To try to maintain one's freedom without giving needless offence to others will always expose a man to such accusations as Paul had to meet. Liberty and charity—to be free and yet to be the servant of God—to rule in serving and to serve in ruling—such are, in fact, the elements in the Christian ideal; and nobody has ever found it an easy ideal to realize. Christ, says Augustine, is 'the food of the full-grown'; and few men are full-grown. The history of the Christian Church shows on many a page how constantly men tend either to pour scorn on all rules and discipline, or to hedge themselves about with rules so as to save themselves the trouble of free decision. The difficulty of Paul's position is at least one which we ought to be able to appreciate; for the dilemma, which he had to meet on the larger scale of Church life, is one which every one of us has to meet in his own personal experiences; and Church life also is never free for long from problems in which the claims of freedom and discipline, of authority and spontaneity, have to be adjusted to one another.[1]

[1] The recurring problem of Sunday observance furnishes perhaps the most obvious modern parallel. The arguments in this discussion are in many respects extraordinarily akin to those which came up in Pauline times with regard to e.g. meats offered to idols, and, more generally, to the obligation of Jewish Law on Christian believers.

I[11]–II[10]. *Paul's claim to independence.*

Paul's narrative here must be read side by side with that in Acts 9[1-25] (Paul's conversion and his work in Damascus), 9[26-30], 22[17-21], 26[20] (Paul's first visit to Jerusalem), 11[27-30], 12[25] (Paul's second visit to Jerusalem), 15 (the controversy at Antioch, the Council of the Church and the Decree which it enacted).

The remarkable differences between the two stories, which will be noted as they arise, make it clear beyond question—strange as it may seem to us—that Luke was not acquainted with this Epistle, or at any rate that he did not use it in composing his narrative. Of the two accounts, Paul's is obviously primary, while that in Acts is secondary; if the two are anywhere irreconcilably opposed, we must accept Paul's record in preference to Luke's.

But we may beware of being hasty in adjudging differences to be irreconcilable. The Acts is established as an excellent historical authority, and is of special value in relation to Paul's career. We must also allow for the fact that neither account can be taken as intended to record every detail of the events which occurred. The object of Paul's brief summary is to prove that he is independent of the authority of the Jerusalem leaders; he recites all the occasions on which he might possibly have come within the scope of their authority, and vehemently asserts that no such transaction in fact took place. Any details which did not bear on this question would only confuse the direct purpose of his narrative. The author of Acts, on the other hand, is interested in the process by which the Church grew and opened its door to the Gentiles; his concern is therefore with public developments, not with private negotiations. These two purposes, it is plain, are independent of each other; and the two narratives, if they can be reasonably harmonized with one another, must be complementary and not identical, in the records that they give. The problem, whether such a harmony between them can be established, can only be dealt with by a consideration of the successive discrepancies, as they occur.

11, 12. Cf. Essay C for a discussion of what is meant by this claim to independence.

13. This corresponds with Acts 8^{1-4}, $9^{1,2}$, 22^{3-5}, 26^{9-11}.

14. *zealous*, *Gr.* ζηλωτής, the word translated ' zealot ', when attached to Simon, one of the Twelve (e. g. Acts 1^{13}). The extreme Pharisaic section seems, however, not to have been known as ' the Zealots ' until the period of the last siege of Jerusalem. That Paul was a coming man among the Pharisaic extremists is very possible.

15. Paul emphasizes the idea of ' election ', that he had been chosen by God. The nature of his experience would force him to realize this standpoint at once. To many, the realization of God's choice of them only comes gradually, as they look back over a period during which they had, as they thought, chosen to serve God. Paul's idea finds its classical expression in the words of John 15^{16}, ' Ye did not choose me, but I chose you.'

16. *to reveal his Son in me.* Lightfoot understands this as meaning ' by me, in my case ', an instrumental use of the preposition. So we get the series of divine actions as (1) the choice of Paul—before his birth, (2) his call—at his conversion, (3) his commission to the Gentiles—in the vision of Acts 22^{21}. We feel, however, that ' in me ' must contain more than a mere instrumental sense, that Paul's conversion was not only a call, but a revelation of an actual union between Christ and himself, which was the mainspring of his feeling of commission to evangelize the Gentiles.

17. *into Arabia.* Paul does not inform us of the reason for this visit ; it might have been for business, or in order to preach in the Nabataean Kingdom (such a suggestion might account for the hostility of Aretas to Paul, 2 Cor. 11^{32}), or, as has naturally been a favourite supposition, for purposes of quiet meditation. Acts tells us nothing of this Arabian visit ; there was no reason why it should be mentioned by Luke, especially if it was made for merely private reasons. We do not know if Paul went into Arabia before he began to preach publicly in Damascus, or whether the Arabian visit came between two spells of preaching work in Damascus. Acts 9^{20} certainly implies that the beginning of Paul's preaching in Damascus followed ' straightway ' on his conversion.

The term ' Arabia ' would cover the whole desert district

from the environs of Damascus to the south of the Arabian peninsula. It has been suggested that Paul went as far as Sinai, because of its associations with the revelations to Moses and Elijah.

18. *after three years.* Acts places the visit to Jerusalem 'when many days were fulfilled', and ascribes Paul's de-

A relief believed to represent an early Christian preacher
In the Museo Civico, Milan

parture from Damascus to fear of a Jewish plot (Acts 9^{23-5}; the story is told also in 2 Cor. $11^{32, 33}$).

to visit Cephas. The word (ἱστορῆσαι) is that used of sight-seeing.

18–24. The narrative in Acts 9^{26-30}, 22^{17-21}, 26^{20}, seems at first sight very discrepant with Paul's account here.

In Acts the visit figures as a time of public preaching

in Jerusalem, which was unsuccessful, and was ended in consequence of a vision seen by Paul in the Temple. In Acts 26^{20} the accepted reading even states that Paul had preached in Judaea as well as at Jerusalem ; but (cf. Acts in this series, note ad loc.) that reading is solecistic Greek, and much may be said for Blass's suggested emendation ' unto every country, both to Jews and also to the Gentiles '. Here Paul presents it as a visit, lasting only a fortnight, in which he saw none of the Jerusalem leaders except Cephas and James. But the two accounts may both be correct. There was no reason why Paul should here mention his preaching in Jerusalem ; and if, as is probable, he attempted to reach the Hellenistic Jews, he may have done so independently and without formal authorization from the Hebrew Jews within the Church. Of the Church leaders, Peter and James may alone have been still present in Jerusalem. The discrepancies are real, but may be understood as resulting from the diversity of purpose between the two accounts. It is clear, however, that Paul's visit to Jerusalem cannot have been as important as the story in Acts seems to represent it. But 1 Thess. 2^{15} may imply some preaching at Jerusalem.

19. Is James here reckoned as an apostle ? He was not one of the Twelve ; but probably the term was still used without definite limitation of its scope (cf. Essay A). Certainly James had already become the acknowledged head of the Church of Jerusalem (cf. Acts 12^{17}). But the Greek here could as well mean ' I saw no other of the Apostles, but only James '.

21. In Acts 9^{30} we are merely told that Paul quitted Jerusalem and went to Tarsus, and nothing more is heard of him until (in Acts 11^{25}), about eight years later, Barnabas fetches him from Tarsus to help in the work at Antioch. Here Paul seems to imply a period of ministry in Syria and Cilicia during these years, to which Acts makes no reference. It is probable, however, that this work in Syria and Cilicia was important ; for when Barnabas brought Paul to Antioch, the Church there seems at once to have accepted him into a position of leadership. Paul must therefore have been well known by reputation, if not in person, at Antioch ; his work in Syria and Cilicia would have given him more than merely local renown. That

work he must have carried on independently; there was no reason, in the conditions of the Church in those times, why he should not do so. His policy with regard to the Gentiles was probably put into practice during this period; when he starts on his missionary tour in Acts 13, he seems perfectly prepared for the stage which is recorded so dramatically in Acts 13^{46}. In that verse, Luke obviously is writing under the sense that the action then taken, of turning to the Gentiles, was a great turning-point and marked an epoch in Church policy. It was, in fact, the first time that a formally authorized mission of the Church had deliberately appealed directly to the heathen as a body. But this step had certainly been anticipated by others, who were acting independently; thus it had been taken by the unofficial missionaries who preached to the Gentiles at Antioch (Acts 11^{20}); and Paul himself may have, and probably had, already acted in a similar way during his ministry in Syria and Cilicia.

23. *preacheth the faith.* Notice that this does not mean 'preaches the religion'. Paul would not yet use the term 'the faith' as meaning a settled body of doctrine. The sense is (εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν) 'declares the good tidings of the faith (in Christ)', i. e. the good tidings that faith in Christ is the means of salvation.

ESSAY C. PAUL'S CLAIM TO INDEPENDENCE

Paul declares that he is not an 'apostle from men or through man', that his gospel is not 'after man' and had not been 'received from man'. This cannot mean that he owed nothing to the Church. Paul could not have put forward so preposterous an assertion. To make it would be anarchical, and Paul is keen to show that he is on harmonious terms with other Church leaders. Moreover, the assertion would have been a falsehood. Paul himself speaks in 1 Cor. 15^{3} of doctrine which he had 'received'; and it is obvious that he must have acquainted himself with the current Christian version of Christ's life and teaching, and that he cannot have been unaffected by the 'atmosphere' of the Christian community, after he had entered into it. Furthermore, it is no mere fancy that

sees in Stephen the spiritual precursor of Paul. Stephen's speech in Acts 7 is, by unmistakable implication, a proclamation that the Law is not indispensable. This idea is later worked out by Paul with immense thoroughness and cogency ; but it is substantially the idea of which Stephen had given the first hint.

The bearing of Paul's claim to independence may be elicited along two lines : (1) If we consider the superficial facts of his relation to the Church, we can find no sign anywhere that Paul ever regarded himself, or was regarded, as a delegate of the Twelve, in his evangelistic work. Both at Damascus and at Jerusalem he works quite independently. It is, in fact, fairly certain that in the early days of the Church no formal commission for the work of evangelism was necessary.[1] The Seven, whose ordination is recorded in Acts 6, were specifically delegates of the Twelve for the special work of relief ; but they seem to have preached independently. The men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who preached to the Greeks at Antioch (Acts 11^{20}), appear not to have had any formal commission. The Church of Jerusalem exercised a right of inspection of their work and sent Barnabas to investigate it (ibid. 11^{22}). But no formal authorization for preaching seems to have been required ; anybody might preach who wanted to do so, though, where possible, he was probably glad to have his activities recognized by the acknowledged authorities of the Church. Certainly Paul seems never to have been formally commissioned as a Christian preacher. He never claims any authorization for his apostolic work, save that he had seen the risen Christ, and that his sufferings and his results (the ' signs of the spirit ') confirmed and sanctioned his labours. At his interview with the Jerusalem leaders, they did nothing but express their concurrence with his policy (Gal. $2^{6\,f.}$). The Church of Antioch, divinely guided, blessed him and Barnabas for a special missionary enterprise (Acts 13^{1-3}) ; in this respect they could be called apostles of the Church of Antioch. But Paul had been working as a missionary, as an ' apostle of Christ ', before that ; to this work his call and commission had come from God and Christ, and not from any ecclesiastical authority.

[1] But the evidence in the New Testament as to the commission of an apostle is very scanty.

(2) But Paul claims not only that his position, but also that his 'gospel' is independent of man. By his gospel he means the particular form in which he preached Christ, and, more particularly, his proclamation that the obligation of the Jewish Law was abrogated as a means of salvation, and that Jew and Gentile were equally admissible to the Christian society. To judge his claim in this regard, it is necessary for us to speculate as to the psychological preparation for his Conversion, and the point which he had reached before it took place. Such speculation can only be hypothetical. But the great autobiographical[1] passage in Romans 7, and a careful appreciation of Paul's developed outlook, as we find it in Galatians and elsewhere, may, when put side by side with the narrative in Acts 7, $9^{1\text{-}9}$, render such an effort of the historical imagination something more than a mere experiment in ingenuity.[2]

To Paul, as to every Jew, the Mosaic Law was divine. This Law had condemned Jesus as a blasphemer. This, put curtly, was the Jewish argument. The Christians met it by asserting Jesus' Resurrection. God had raised Him from the dead, and so had vindicated His claim to be the Messiah. Now, if this was true, then it followed that the Law was superseded. In vindicating one whom the Law had condemned, God Himself had shown the Law to be inadequate to His Messianic purpose for mankind. This inference Stephen had drawn, and Paul cannot have failed to see that it lay in the very logic of the events, if they were correctly stated. The Jewish Christians, it is clear, had not yet accepted this inference; still, and for a long time to come, they persisted in the effort to retain the obligation of the Law within the Christian Church. But Paul saw more clearly than they; if the Christian claim for Christ was just, then the Law was abrogated by God's own act.[3]

[1] If the passage is not actually autobiographical—though it sounds as if it were—it must at least be taken as expressing, in developed form, feelings and thoughts which must have been operative in Paul's consciousness before he actually gave them words.

[2] Cf. a most valuable lecture by Peake, entitled 'The Quintessence of Paulinism'.

[3] Pfleiderer emphasizes the importance of Galatians 3^{13} in connexion with this view of Paul's conversion.

Paul himself had already realized the fact that the Law was spiritually unsatisfactory as a means of salvation (cf. Essay F). We can see in Romans 7 how deep and real was the distress of soul into which this realization plunged him. But, though it would be a comfort to him to find a means of salvation which would be more adequate than the Law, Paul was too much a devotee of truth to accept that which was offered to him, merely because it promised to be more spiritually comforting. He could only accept Christ, if he was convinced that the claims made for Christ were true, and of this he was not yet convinced, when he set out on the road to Damascus. His rage of persecution is psychologically intelligible. He was not comfortable on his present foundation (the Law), but it was the only one that he possessed ; this foundation the Christian argument seemed to threaten, and he was not yet assured that Christ could substitute anything better.

There were many strong reasons why he could not easily accept Christ. (1) He had been brought up in the Mosaic Law ; all his religious life so far had been passed under its shelter. He was asked to renounce that which he believed to be God's direct ordinance. He was, in fact, under the influence of authority in its most powerful and venerable form. We can scarcely exaggerate the degree of sacredness which a Jew of his time, and especially ' a Pharisee of the Pharisees ', attached to the authority of this Law. The universe rested upon it. It was co-eternal with God. It was even practically co-equal with Him. (2) And this Law plainly said that Jesus was a blasphemer. His Crucifixion only clinched His condemnation at the Law's hands. Such a man could not be the Messiah. The idea of a suffering, still less of a dying, Messiah had never lodged itself in the Jewish mind. Isaiah 53, it seems, had never been applied as a Messianic prophecy until the Christians so made use of it. The Jews expected a triumphant Messiah. Jesus was manifestly not such an one.

We cannot say what would have been the process of development in Paul's thought if the Vision had not taken place. It must have been very hard for him to continue to deny that Jesus had risen from the dead. The amount of witness to that was so strong and so unanimous. But, though Paul was still denying it, he may—perhaps we may

say, he must—have gone so far, even before his conversion, as to recognize that the Resurrection of Jesus was the one crucial question. He might, therefore, have been in time persuaded by the mere accumulation of evidence that the Christian statement of the Resurrection was true. This might have led to his becoming a Christian believer. But such a process of conviction would probably have made him a very differently balanced Christian from the Paul of actual history. His conversion would have come by mere intellectual conviction. As a modern preacher might put it, he would have been convinced of the Resurrection of Christ, he would not necessarily have made the acquaintance of the Risen Christ. There would have been more ratiocination and less personal emotion in his belief. He would be likely to feel that he had chosen Christianity, rather than that he had been chosen by Christ. He would scarcely have become the missionary enthusiast that he did become; certainly he would not have gained that supreme mystical intimacy with Christ which is the most uplifting strain in his teaching.

This, however, is a mere speculation in might-have-beens. In fact, it was the Vision of the Risen Christ that converted him. To it (however we explain it) he always afterwards returns, as to the crowning experience of his life. It is that Vision which shapes his feelings, and illuminates his intuitions, and moulds his gospel. Christ was risen, therefore the Law was superseded. The fact of the risen Christ is to him determinative of his whole outlook on God and on salvation. He had already seen what would be the inference, if the Christian claim was true. He had now to apply that inference. All the ground had been prepared. We need feel no surprise, if his gospel appears full-fledged from the first, nor need we doubt that even in Damascus, and in Syria and Cilicia, he preached it from the outset. The Law was transcended. It had served its purpose, and was now abrogated. Faith in Christ was the means of salvation.

In this deepest sense, then, Paul's gospel was received through revelation of Jesus Christ. Stephen and others may have prepared the soil. The Church may have contributed elements to his equipment as a Christian teacher. But his main evangelical point, that 'Christ is the end of

the Law unto righteousness to every one that believeth' (Rom. 10^4), came to him as the result of his Vision near Damascus. His 'gospel' is independent of man, because it ultimately rests on a personal knowledge of Christ.

II. 1. *after the space of fourteen years* (R.V. marg. 'in the course of', *Gr.* διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν).

It is not clear whether this period is reckoned from his conversion, or from his first visit to Jerusalem. Either alternative is equally possible. On the importance of the chronological point involved cf. Essay D.

with Barnabas. This would be of interest to the Galatians, whom Barnabas had visited in Paul's company (cf. Introd. A). For Barnabas cf. Acts 4^{36}, $11^{22\,f.}$, $15^{36\,f.}$

Titus is not once mentioned in Acts. He figures here as a subordinate, and not on an equality with Paul or Barnabas. He is named because of the controversy which at once rose round him.

2. *by revelation*; referring either to private inspiration, or to the public declaration of Agabus (Acts $11^{28\,f.}$). In Acts this visit (on the theory maintained in Essay D) is in order to take to Jerusalem the relief collected at Antioch for the Jerusalem Church. Nothing is here said of that purpose; it was in fact irrelevant to Paul's argument in this passage. But Paul took the opportunity to hold a private conference with the Jerusalem leaders, not in order to ask their permission for that which he had already been doing in Syria and Cilicia, and which he purposed to continue doing on the missionary journey which he may already have been projecting, but in order to forestall Judaistic opposition to his policy by eliciting the concurrence of the leaders of the Jewish-Christian section. The conference was private, not public, and was with 'them who were of repute' (*Gr.* τοῖς δοκοῦσιν), and not with the Church as a body. The conditions are entirely dissimilar from those of the Council in Acts 15. On the relation between the story here told and the events related in Acts 11^{30} and in Acts 15 cf. Essay D.

No irony is expressed in the words 'them of repute' either in this verse or in v. 6 (τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι) or in v. 9 (οἱ δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι). But we cannot say that there is no irony in the tone. It is probable that Paul's

Judaizing opponents in Galatia had made definite appeal to the authority and position of these 'pillars of the Church', and had made strong play with their names.

3–5. A fearful sentence, broken constantly in its grammar, and plainly quivering with emotion. A literal translation would be: 'but not even Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised; but because of the false brethren smuggled in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might enslave us—to whom we yielded in subjection not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might remain with you.' The sense is no more clear than the grammar is orthodox. Was Titus circumcised or not? Does Paul mean 'he was not circumcised' or 'he was not *compelled* to be circumcised' (but we conceded the point for the sake of peace). Does he mean 'we in no degree gave way' or 'we gave way *not in subjection*' (but only in concession). Lightfoot and Ramsay both conclude that Titus was not and could not have been circumcised; that Paul, even if he could concede the point in the case of the half-Jew Timothy (Acts 16^3), could not have conceded it in the case of the fully Gentile Titus. Such a view seems *a priori* preferable. Kirsopp Lake inclines, though with some hesitation, to the view that Titus was circumcised. The question is, why is Paul's sentence so perplexed? What is the statement omitted, when he breaks off his sentence at the words 'that they might enslave us'? Was Paul about to say 'we did give way and concede the point', or only something like 'the Jerusalem leaders urged me to give way'? The Galatians of course would know quite well whether Titus had been circumcised or not. We are ignorant on the point, nor do we know what advice the three leaders gave to Paul. But it is worth remarking that if Paul won his point, and Titus was not circumcised, nothing was more easy or more useful to him than to say so downright. The involutions of his sentence do provoke the thought that Paul feels himself to have an embarrassing task to justify some concession which he had then made and now felt to have been unwise or unfortunate. At any rate we may go so far as to suggest that there was a real conflict on the point, and that, even if Titus was not circumcised, something happened to him (perhaps he was

excluded from relations with the Jerusalem Church), which had made it possible for Paul's opponents to say that Paul had abandoned him in deference to the requests of the Three, in order to placate the Jewish section, and had thus submitted to the exactions and directions of others. It is clear enough that for Paul to have an uncircumcised assistant would be very wounding to Jewish-Christian feeling. Is it not possible to suppose that—especially if the Three pressed him to yield—he may have conceded the point as an exception, for the sake of peace, and on the understanding that it was not to be treated as a precedent, but only as a special concession because of the special condition of Church affairs in Jerusalem? If so, we can sympathize with his emotion, as he thinks of the incident, and we can understand the difficulty under which he labours, as he tries to make clear to the Galatians that, whatever happened to Titus, it happened as an exceptional concession, and not 'by subjection', and that he in no way submitted to the dictation of a superior authority in allowing it, nor intended it to be regarded as a deliberate infraction of the main principle which he held then, as now, and for which he gained the general concurrence of the Three.

A Latin reading in v. 5, by omitting οἷς οὐδέ, produces the sense 'we yielded' instead of 'to whom we did not yield'. But the Greek MSS. are unanimous in the other sense.

4. *false brethren.* Either Jewish Christians, or, it has been suggested, actual Jews who had joined the Church with none but traitorous motives. We cannot tell whether Paul's accusation of treachery is justified or is merely the product of excited controversy. It is certain, however, that the Jerusalem Church was, and continued to be, predominantly Jewish in feeling.

6. *whatsoever they were* (*Gr.* ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν); more correctly 'whatever they once were', i. e. in the old times when they had the advantage of personal intercourse with our Lord. The anacoluthon 'from those who were reputed to be somewhat . . . they, I say, who were of repute imparted nothing to me' is far less violent than that in vv. 4 and 5, and is simply due to the interposed parenthesis.

7, 8. This division of spheres did not remain permanent, for Peter later preached in Gentile centres; but at this time he was only working in Palestine. It is notable that in Acts 15^{7} Peter, referring probably to the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10), claims to have been chosen by God to preach to the Gentiles. In this passage of Galatians, that sphere is said to have been definitely handed over to Paul. Is it possible that Peter would thus have given up the idea of ministering to the Gentiles at the very time when (if Gal. 2^{1-10} = Acts 15) he was claiming to have been chosen for that ministry? In Acts, the Cornelius episode certainly stands even before the visit of Acts 11^{30} (with which we identify Gal. 2^{1-10}). But there is reason for thinking that that episode is chronologically misplaced in Acts. For Cornelius seems to have been stationed at Caesarea for a long time; but no Roman garrison was established there until after the death of Herod in A. D. 44. It is possible, therefore, that Peter was, at the time of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, ready to regard himself as charged merely with 'the apostleship of the circumcision', and that his feeling of his duty was subsequently enlarged as the result of the Cornelius episode, and that his words in Acts 15^{7} express his newer sense of a wider duty.

10. *remember the poor*, i.e. remember the needs of the poverty-stricken Church of Jerusalem. Paul was actually in Jerusalem at the time on such business (if our view in Essay D is correct); and thereafter he gave continuous thought and care to the collection of a subsidy for Jerusalem from the Gentile Churches (cf. Rom. 15^{26}, 1 Cor. 16^{1-4}, 2 Cor. 8, Acts 24^{17}). To this subsidy he obviously attached very great importance, no doubt as a concrete evidence of the loyalty of Gentile Christianity to their Jewish fellow believers. But it seems to have had little effect in conciliating the Jewish Christians towards Paul and his policy.

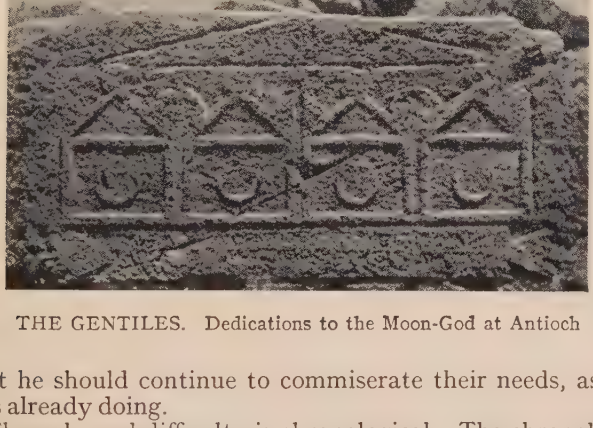
ESSAY D. PAUL'S SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM

According to Acts, Paul's second visit to Jerusalem after his conversion took place in connexion with a subsidy which the Antiochene Church sent to the Christians of Jerusalem for their relief in a time of famine (Acts 11^{27-30},

12^{25}). The subsidy was sent by the hands of Barnabas and Paul to the 'elders' of the Jerusalem Church. The exact date of this visit is not stated. We are told in Acts 11^{30} that it was projected; but the subsidy might take long to collect. In Acts 12^{25} the conclusion of the visit is recorded, and seems to be placed after (but we have no indication how long after) the death of Herod, which took place in A. D. 44. Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5) tells us of a Judaean famine, which reached its climax in A. D. 46. This is probably the one in question; and if so, the date of the visit may be placed within the years 44–6. It may have lasted some weeks or even some months. The 'ministration' which Barnabas and Paul 'fulfilled' would not consist merely in handing over a sum of money or a few bales of goods to the elders; they would be likely to stay and assist in the distribution, and to help generally in the organization of relief-measures.

It is natural to suppose that that which Acts records as Paul's second visit is also that which Paul himself records as his second visit. Is there any reason why we should reject the identification of Acts 11^{30} with Galatians $2^{1\text{-}10}$? There is nothing in the two descriptions which makes them seriously irreconcilable with one another. (1) The fact that the relief was handed over to 'the elders' need not imply that the 'apostles' had all left Jerusalem. The apostles had already delegated the work of normal relief to the Seven (Acts 6), and, whoever these 'elders' were, it would not be unlikely that the apostles should leave the arrangements for this extraordinary relief to others than themselves. It is true that Acts 12^{17} seems to suggest that Peter left Jerusalem, after his escape from Herod. But we have no hint of the duration of his withdrawal. The persecution ended with the death of Herod in A. D. 44, and it is quite probable that Peter then returned, and so was able to be present at a conference with the representatives of the Antiochene Church. (2) If the interview described in Galatians was private, there was no reason why Luke should record it in Acts. (3) There is no reason whatever for thinking it unlikely that Paul should so early take the opportunity of consulting the Jerusalem leaders about his Gentile work and his policy of admitting the Gentiles into the Church. Not only is it possible that the

mission of the Antiochene Church was already being projected, but Paul had already been preaching in Syria and Cilicia, and would be glad to make sure that he neither 'was running', nor 'had run, in vain'. (4) It is suggested that it would be ungracious for the three apostles to ask Paul to 'remember the poor' (i.e. to bear the wants of the Jerusalem Church in mind), if he was at the time in Jerusalem for that express purpose. This is merely fanciful. Paul's reference to their request is of the briefest; it does not require much imagination to expand it into a request



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that he should continue to commiserate their needs, as he was already doing.

The only real difficulty is chronological. The chronology of Paul's career is admittedly uncertain. We do not know the date of his conversion; some place it in A.D. 30, but that seems to allow too little time for the development that has taken place by the beginning of Acts 6; A.D. 33 is a more likely date. The conference recorded in Acts 15 is generally dated about A.D. 48–9. Now in Galatians Paul places his first visit to Jerusalem three years after his conversion, and his second visit 'after the space of' or 'in the course of' fourteen years. If he is reckoning these two periods consecutively, we are brought to about A.D. 49, and his second visit must then coincide with his visit in

Acts 15 (his third visit, according to Acts). But, if he is reckoning in both cases from his conversion, we are brought to about A. D. 46, which corresponds with the date of his visit in Acts 11^{30}. Can we feel more sure that he is reckoning in one way than in the other? Ramsay insists that his whole argument proceeds from, and looks back to, his conversion. This may seem too positive. But we can at least feel that, so far as the passage goes, either way of reckoning is equally possible and would be equally natural. We find, at any rate, no sufficient force in the chronological argument to make us refuse the natural identification of Galatians 2^{1} with Acts 11^{30}, unless we can be shown any special arguments which will make us prefer to identify it with Acts 15.

The arguments for this later identification are thus summarized by Lightfoot: (1) the geography is the same in both Galatians 2 and Acts 15, viz. Jerusalem and Antioch; (2) the persons are the same, Paul and Barnabas over against James and Peter; (3) the subject is the same, the circumcision of Gentile converts; (4) the character of the conference is the same, a prolonged and hard-fought contest; (5) the result is the same, the exemption of Gentiles from the Law, and the recognition of the apostolic commission of Paul and Barnabas.

This seems a formidable array of correspondences, but is it as strong as it looks? The first would equally well apply to the visit of Acts 11^{30}. The fourth is definitely questionable; there is evidence of opposition, but not of a prolonged contest, in Gal. 2. In regard to the third and fifth, the story in Galatians does not mention, though no doubt it implies, the exemption of the Gentiles from the Law. But is there any reason why the question should not have come up more than once? Is it not, in fact, quite natural to find the heads of the Church first agreeing to a liberal policy, and then to find that this policy is questioned by the rank and file, after the policy has had time to mature and show its trend? It would not be the only time that the Church's leaders have shown themselves in advance of general Church opinion. As to Lightfoot's second argument, we certainly only hear of 'elders' in Acts 11^{30}; but it has already been suggested that the apostles, or some of them, may yet have been in Jerusalem

at that time; James almost certainly must have been there, for he seems to act as the president of the Jerusalem Church, and he could scarcely be absent in such an emergency as the famine.

Lightfoot's arguments scarcely appear conclusive on examination; and over against them we can set one great and really vital difference between the two accounts. According to Paul, the conference was private; the conference in Acts 15 is public. It is no escape from the difficulty to say that the private conference may have led to a public one. No doubt that is quite usual procedure; it actually was followed in Acts $15^{4, 6}$. But the whole point of Paul's recital in Gal. 2 is that the proceedings were not public, but private (κατ' ἰδίαν δέ, i.e. 'but privately' ⟨and not publicly⟩).

It has been too readily agreed by many scholars that Gal. 2 and Acts 15 must refer to the same occasion. It is really far more reasonable to say that they cannot possibly refer to the same occasion. Indeed, the difference between the two accounts is so vital that, if we accept this identification, we are almost forced to accept one or other of the hypotheses which accuse the account in Acts 15 of being either unhistorical or chronologically misplaced. Such hypotheses are: (1) that the conference of Acts 15 never took place, but that Luke has invented a scene to crystallize the process by which Paul's policy prevailed; (2) that Acts 11^{30} and 15 really refer to the same visit, which Luke has divided into two; (3) that Acts 15 is an account of a conference which actually took place later (cf. Acts 21^{25}); (4) that two traditions of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem were current in the Church, one that it led to a public conference (the tradition of which Acts has got hold), and one that it led to a merely private conference (Paul's version). Any one of these theories seriously impairs the credibility of Acts. For Acts 15 is the obvious climax, to which all that has gone before leads up. If Luke has gone wrong there, how can we know that he is to be trusted at all in his previous narrative? This suspicion is one which does not square with the general impression of historical credibility that Acts produces.[1]

[1] On this cf. the relevant discussions in the edition of Acts in this series.

Opinion as to the historical merits of Acts has, it is true, been subject to singular oscillations. The Tübingen scholars commonly represented it as a second-century compilation. From this stigma it was rescued by Ramsay and Harnack, who agreed in regarding it as a first-rate authority. More recent scholarship has been inclined to think that those two great scholars held an exaggerated view of Luke's historical merits ; it is now suggested that, whilst all of Acts is first-century material, and much of it is from a contemporary source, the book as it stands shows signs of redaction, and that its picture of the history, especially in the first half of the book, not only is incomplete (as no one would deny), but also contains details that cannot be regarded without suspicion. No doubt there are real difficulties in the story which Acts tells, and the defence of its accuracy in all details is not so entirely conclusive as it was, until recently, considered to be. Yet we shall probably not go far astray in believing that the balance will eventually swing once more to a recognition of Luke's merits as an historian, as scholars, by trying alternative theories, come to realize that Acts gives us at any rate a lucid and rational account of the Church's growth, such as, so far at least, is not given by the speculations which are offered as alternatives to the Lucan account.

This argument against the traditional theory is reinforced by two other considerations : (1) Paul was obviously bound to mention all the visits which he had paid to Jerusalem ; for he is enumerating the occasions when he might have met the leaders of the Jerusalem Church, and showing that he did not use these occasions to receive their directions. For him to omit one such occasion was to expose himself to an obvious insinuation. Lightfoot says that he might have omitted the visit of Acts 11^{30} because it was only short, because the apostles were absent, and Paul only saw the ' elders '. If that were so, why could not Paul say so ? The Galatians might well have heard of this visit ; but they might easily not have heard that the apostles were absent ; anyhow, Paul would be foolish not to say so, if it were the case.

(2) Why is it that, throughout his Epistle, Paul makes no allusion whatever to the Decree (Acts 15^{23}), in which the

conference ended?[1] Whatever that Decree did not do, it did say that the Gentiles were not to be circumcised. How could Paul be so blind as not to see the force which the reference to this fact would lend to his position? If the Decree had already been delivered to Galatia, a reference to its terms would none the less clinch his argument beyond cavil. Paul, it is said, would not refer to it, because it would seem to 'exalt Jerusalem'. But it would exalt his 'gospel' even more. Paul is as eager to show that he is not anarchical as he is to assert his independence. If he had been founding a merely Pauline church, he might not have minded seeming to preach a merely individual view. But he was trying to establish a church in which Gentiles would be in full communion with Jewish Christians; and to this end it was essential that he should show that his policy had been admitted as wholly congruous with the original basis of Christian Church life.

It is true that the Decree of Acts 15 is similarly unnoticed in the Corinthian Epistles, which were certainly written after the Council of Jerusalem. But the conditions at Corinth were not the same as those in Galatia. The Decree was intended for a special group of churches (Acts 15^{23}), and though Paul also delivered them in Galatia (Acts 16^{4}), he was under no obligation to continue delivering them, wherever he went; and, since the Judaizing party seemed to regard them as in no way final, he might very well have become disposed to keep silence about them. Moreover, the opposition at Corinth, though apparently Judaistic in its origin, does not seem to have taken the same shape as in Galatia. It took apparently less a legalistic than an antinomian form. Finally, it may be said that we have no reason to state definitely that the Decree was unknown at Corinth, though Paul does not quote it. Kirsopp Lake (whose discussion of the Corinthian situation in his *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* should be carefully studied) thinks it quite possible that the Decree had been appealed to by the stricter party, and that Paul's answer is intended as giving his view of the justification and meaning of the Decree so far as things offered to idols are concerned.

The view, here supported, that Galatians $2^{1\text{-}10}$ = Acts 11^{30},

[1] On the bearing of this consideration on the question of the date of this Epistle cf. Introd. B.

cannot be said to be accepted by the generality of scholars. But, on a balance of arguments, it seems to be the view which, though it has its own problems, yet presents the fewest and the least serious difficulties. The view which places Galatians 2^{1-10} at the same time as Acts 15 is one which can only be held, if we take a lower view of Paul's controversial acuteness than we have any right to take, or a lower view of the historical merits of Acts than a wise criticism can assent to.

II$^{11-21}$. PAUL'S EQUALITY WITH PETER AND BARNABAS

This section begins with narrative, and passes into a doctrinal discussion which serves as a prelude to the fuller treatment in Chapters 3 and 4. We cannot precisely fix the point at which Paul's actual rebuke to Peter ends, and his general reflections on the subject begin; but the transition takes place imperceptibly, somewhere in the sentence of vv. 15 and 16.

The incident here related is extraordinarily interesting, for many reasons; (1) it gives us a glimpse below the surface into the conditions of Church life in this early period, and may deliver us from the idea—so paralysing to interest in the history—that the Christian Church in the apostolic age was a paradise of inhuman unanimity. Let us make the most of this glimpse, for it is unusually vivid. The Church at Antioch was in a transition state, composed roughly of about equal numbers of Jews and Gentiles; at any rate it comprised a solid section of Jews. (Similar conditions would probably exist at the same time in other churches in Gentile centres—e.g. in Galatia—wherever there was a considerable Jewish colony, to which Christian preachers would naturally have made their first appeal.) Now, in Jewish synagogues of the Dispersion, Jews had been accustomed, though strict Jews always condemned the practice, to admit Gentile 'adherents' (uncircumcised, but accepting much of the Mosaic Law) to a participation with them in the prayers and business of the synagogue. But they would not have been required to eat with them, and the Law definitely forbade this as an action whereby

a Jew incurred Levitical defilement. In the Christian Church of this early period, however, one of the central features was a common social meal (called by later writers the *Agapé* or love-feast), to which was attached the Eucharistic commemoration of the Lord's Supper. Some Jewish Christians would be liberal enough to be ready to join in this meal with their Gentile fellow-Christians. Paul certainly did so, and at Antioch Peter and Barnabas also had followed his example. Most probably Paul's argument to the Jews was that baptism by itself had purged the risk of pollution. But many Jewish Christians, especially those from Jerusalem, would regard such action as an indefensible violation of the Mosaic Law. It seems then that at Antioch the visit of the ' certain from James ' led to the separation of Jewish Christian from Gentile Christian, and that the two sections began to eat at separate tables, or even perhaps in separate rooms or houses, meeting together only for common prayer and for the discussion of common Church business. Very possibly such a condition of things existed for a time in other cities than Antioch. Its continuance clearly made common Church life impossible, and meant the cleavage of the Church into two separate sections. This was what Paul saw, and against this he protested, on grounds of Church statesmanship firstly, and then on the deeper ground of the doctrine of salvation implied in such a continuance of veneration for ' the works of the law '.

(2) When did this incident take place ? There is no note of sequence in v. 11, as there is in 1^{18}, 2^{1}. The encounter at Antioch may therefore have occurred before the conference of 2^{1-10} ; but it is more natural to suppose that the chronological sequence is continued.

If Galatians 2^{1-10} = Acts 15, it would be a strange (though not an impossible) inconsistency, that Peter should act so timidly after he had spoken so decidedly in the Council (Acts 15^{11}). But if the visit of Gal. 2^{1} is that of Acts 11^{30}, the incident falls admirably into place among the events recorded in Acts 15^{1}, which produced the dissension at Antioch that resulted in the holding of the Council. Very possibly the same movement of Judaistic propagandism which caused the trouble at Antioch had also caused, at or about the same time, the defection in Galatia ; and Paul wrote this letter to Galatia, because

he had to go to Jerusalem to deal in person with the opposition at its fountain-head.

(3) Peter at the Council fully adopts the Pauline point of view ; this may be taken as the result of Paul's rebuke at Antioch. We find no trace hereafter of any antagonism between Paul and Peter, though Peter later worked in Gentile cities, and in churches where Paul had also worked. On the other hand, v. 12 here certainly implies that Paul regarded his opponents as being in some measure inspired or commissioned by James. He may have had grounds for this view. Every record that we possess about James the Lord's brother agrees that he was a model of Jewish piety and observance, even when he was the acknowledged head of the Christian Church at Jerusalem. It cannot be questioned that his policy must have been to lead and to maintain the Jewish-Christian community at Jerusalem in punctilious fidelity to the Mosaic Law. He cannot therefore have been other than antagonistic to Paul's policy. At the Council of Acts 15, his summing-up (Acts $15^{13\text{-}21}$ can hardly be a verbatim report, but may give a genuine reminiscence of James' main points) is in favour of conceding Paul's principle with regard to the Gentiles ; but at the same time he seems (v. 21) to encourage reverence for the Mosaic Law, and to hint an opinion that relations with the synagogue shall be continued. If this was as far as James felt able to go, his followers might easily be less tolerant and consider themselves licensed to carry on propaganda on behalf of the Law among Gentile Christians. Certainly, neither after this letter nor after the Council, was Paul's policy freed for a long time from systematic opposition on the part of Jewish Christians, who may have had reason to claim James' support or sympathy. The Corinthian Epistles show that a Judaizing party existed in the Church of Corinth ; and in Romans, which is a sort of manifesto and may be a circular letter, Paul has to devote his energy to a complete statement of his case and to an elaborate refutation of the Judaistic propaganda.

13. *the rest of the Jews*, i. e. of the Antiochene Church, who must previously have been in the habit of joining with the Gentile Christians in the Agapé.

even Barnabas. Barnabas, of course, was well known to the

Galatians, and he and Paul had been companions on the visit to Galatia, when the churches were founded.

14. The rebuke was public. To Paul too much was at stake to make private remonstrance an adequate treatment of the situation. Note that he accuses Peter of inconsistency; Peter had first shown a readiness to liberalism, but now he had reverted to rigidity. This, so far, was a merely *ad hominem* argument; it did not touch the 'certain from James', who had not acted liberally. But Paul goes on to deal with the issue on grounds of doctrine. It seems clear that after v. 14 his quotation of his own rebuke to Peter slides into a general consideration of the position, addressed to the lapsing Galatians.

15. *sinners*; inverted commas would show that Paul takes this phrase out of the mouth of his opponents; '"sinners" of the Gentiles, as you like to call them'.

16. *yet knowing*; though we are Jews, yet we have learnt to place faith in Christ above the law.

not by the works of the law, save through faith in Jesus Christ. This sounds as if Paul meant 'we are justified by the works of the law, provided faith in Christ is added', i.e. faith in Christ plus Jewish observance is the means of justification. Paul cannot possibly mean this, for it expresses exactly the Judaistic position, which he is combating. He must mean (as R.V. marg.) 'not by the works of the law, but only through faith', &c. Grammarians deny that the Greek form here used (ἐὰν μή) can have the sense 'but only'; but it must have it here, for Paul can mean nothing else. Possibly we may explain the anomaly in this way; that Paul intended to write simply 'no man is justified, except through faith', but that he then inserted 'by the works of the law' before 'except', and so wrecked his grammar and obscured his sense. But such explanations of grammatical anomalies always tend to sound like ingenious hocus-pocus. We can at any rate be quite certain here as to what Paul does and can only mean. The works of the Law cannot save. Paul would not deny that a Jewish Christian might, if he desired, continue to obey the Mosaic Law (cf. Essay B); but such a man must not look for justification by such works, but by faith in

Christ. (Parallel uses of ἐὰν μή and of εἰ μή may be seen in Gal. 1^{19}, Rev. 21^{27}.)

justified. On the meaning of justification cf. Essay E. The last words of v. 16 are a quotation from Ps. 143^{2}. The Old Testament, then, itself proclaimed the impossibility of attaining justification. The Psalm does not contain the words 'by the works of the law'; but Paul adds the words, quite fairly, since the Psalm is part of the revelation to Jews living under the law, and relying wholly on the law.

17, 18. An obscure sentence, for which many different interpretations have been suggested. The argument may be thus paraphrased: 'We reject the Law and trust to Christ. In doing so we are *found sinners*. So then Christ is the minister of sin? No. For *if I build up again what I destroyed*, I prove myself a transgressor.' The ambiguity lies in the two italicized phrases; we are not sure of the meaning of the first, while both the meaning and the connexion of the second are uncertain. We may be sure (1) that Paul is rejecting any suggestion that Christ is inadequate for salvation; (2) that v. 18 gives the counter-argument to v. 17, and justifies the emphatic 'God forbid'. It is likely also that the word 'sinners' contains some irony (as in v. 15), and in some way implies the Jewish application of that term to the Gentiles. But we cannot be certain whether Paul has the Antioch incident and the Galatian defection still in the foreground of his mind, or whether he has for the moment come on to wider ground, and is touching on the deeper question of Christ's relation to human sinfulness.

Shall we then interpret as follows? (1) 'By abandoning the Law, we become like the heathen, the people whom the Jews call "sinners". Granted. So then, it may be said, Christ is the minister of sin. No, for it is no sin to abandon the Law for Christ. The sin lies in going back to the Law which we had renounced (as Peter was doing, and as the Galatians were threatening to do).' This is a perfectly straightforward rendering, and gives good, if somewhat superficial, sense. But it hardly gives full significance to the words 'are found' (εὑρέθημεν).

May we then prefer the following? (2) 'In abandoning the Law, we find that we still actually commit sin; we

are "sinners", as you call the Gentiles, and are more conscious of sin than ever. Is this Christ's fault, then? No, it is my fault. For by sinning I am building up the old power of sin, which I had renounced in accepting Christ.' This gives a deeper sense, and an excellent force to 'are found'. It implies, however, that Paul has momentarily gone deeper than the plain controversy involved at Antioch and in Galatia. But this is by no means inconceivable. The meaning assigned to 'I build up again' (πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ) is perhaps somewhat strained.

(3) A third rendering, which some prefer, combines the first half of (2) with the second half of (1). 'In abandoning the Law, we find that we still actually commit sin; we are "sinners", as you call the Gentiles, and are more conscious of sin than ever. Is this Christ's fault, then? No, I protest. To admit the inadequacy of Christ casts me back on the Law; I reconstruct its obligation, and in so doing I do wrong.' This version, in eluding the objection to (1) and (2), falls under the graver objection that the connexion between the two parts is forced and clumsy.

It seems as if nothing better than either (1) or (2) can be suggested. But we may admit that Paul has not made his meaning clear, and we may doubt whether even the Galatians would entirely have understood him.

19. *through the law I died unto the law.* 'I died unto the law' is simple; it means 'I renounced the legal obligation of Mosaism' (and all legalism in religion). But what does he mean by saying that this happened as the result of the Law itself? Either (1) that the Law was too heavy; the effort to obey it so exhausted me that I could only resign myself to seek elsewhere a deliverance from sin which I could not gain by obedience to the Law. Paul constantly recurs to the thought of man's inability to obey the Law satisfactorily. Or (2) that the Law provoked the desire to sin, and so unconsciously acted as an instrument to goad man on to seek for freedom. This idea, of the Law as a provocation to disobedience, is found in Rom. $7^{7\,\mathrm{f.}}$ On the whole subject of Paul's relation to the Law cf. Essay F. Note, finally, that he here emphasizes the point that the rejection of legal ordinances was not in order to enjoy mere license, but in order to 'live unto God'.

20. These phrases, which are classical expressions of Paul's

doctrine of mystical union with Christ, are considered in Essay E.

21. *in vain*; i.e. gratuitously, to no purpose (*Gr.* δωρεάν). If the Law was sufficient, Christ was unnecessary.

We are given no indication as to the upshot of Paul's encounter with Peter, though, as has been suggested above, Peter's words at the Council may show that he submitted to the rebuke and took it to heart. Peter himself was in fact in an untenable position. By consorting with the Gentiles and then withdrawing, he had prejudiced irretrievably any defence that he might have wished to make. But the other Jews, who had consistently refused to eat with the Gentiles, had no doubt much to say in answer to Paul, and no doubt they said it both then and later (Acts 15^5). The kind of argument that they may have used has been already suggested in Essay A. Paul's contentions probably had little effect upon them, for he and they were not really on common ground. Christians as they were, they had not yet seen in Jesus more than the Jewish Messiah. They took over into their Christianity the whole apparatus of Judaism, and were in essence nothing but legalist Jews with a belief that the Messianic hope had been fulfilled in Jesus. To Paul Jesus was the Son of God; and, though he may not yet have thought out all the implications of such a title, the position which he ascribed to Christ was one which lifted Him out of any necessary relation to Jewish Law. He was the Mediator, directly, between God and man; for the Jews He fulfilled the Jewish hope and so superseded Jewish observance as a religious necessity; for the Gentiles He offered the way of salvation immediately, without the need for any interposition, or even of any co-operation, of Jewish ordinances in order to make that way sufficient.

ESSAY E. PAUL'S DOCTRINE OF UNION WITH CHRIST

To Paul Christianity was the religion of salvation. By salvation he means not the assurance of escape from hell; it is remarkable how little Paul says as to the fear of future punishment, in comparison with his constant aspiration to

deliverance from ' this present evil world ', by which he means the spiritual powers of evil that are active in human affairs. Nor does Paul mean by salvation the final achievement of moral and spiritual perfection, though that of course is the consummation of the saved condition, towards which he ' presses on '. He means rather the establishment of man in a condition of righteousness, i.e. of ' all-rightness ' with God, of correspondence with God's purpose for himself ; that condition, to the attainment of, or continuance in, which, sin is the universal obstacle ; sin being, in fact, the name for the state of disharmony with God, and sins being the individual symptoms of the presence of the state of sin.

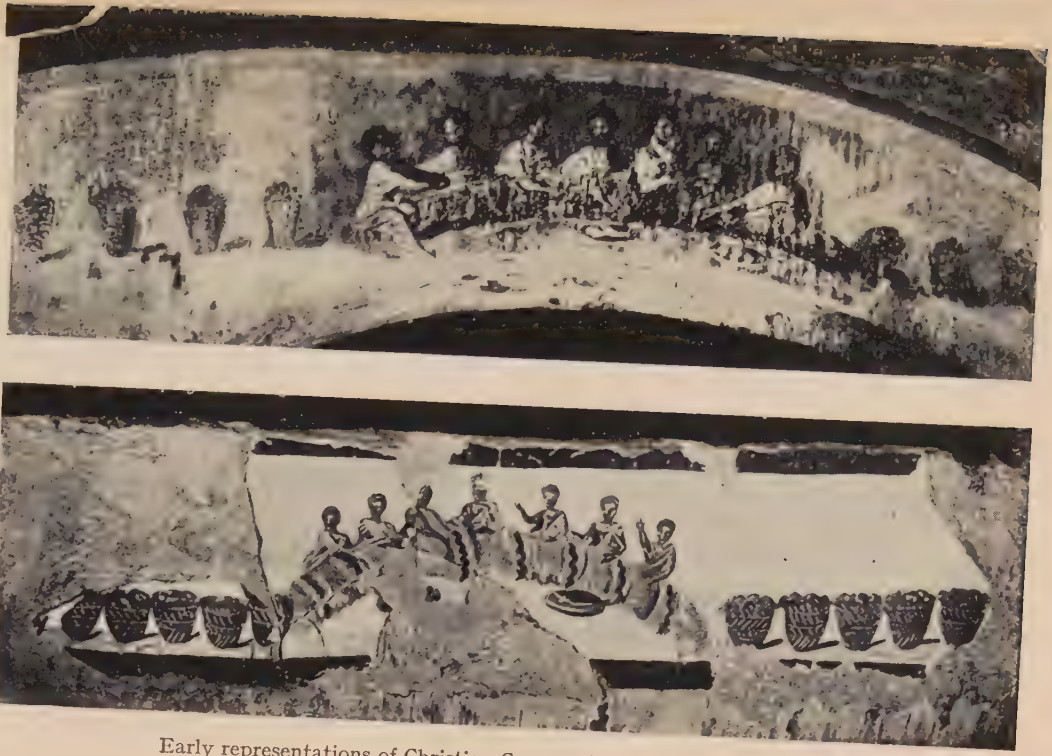
Christianity was, of course, not the only religion which offered to show men the way of salvation. Indeed it would be more true to say that every religion has offered in various modes to lead men in that way. In Paul's own time, the Mystery religions, which exercised so great an influence in the Graeco-Roman world, definitely professed to offer ' salvation ' in a sense much like that in which Paul uses it, by methods of mystic initiation and mystic rites ; and the phrase ' the way of salvation ' was common property in the religious language of the mysteries, and indeed in popular religious phraseology (cf. Acts 16^{17}). Judaism, again, offered its way of salvation in that obedience to the Law which constituted ' righteousness ', a term which in Jewish usage means primarily ' all-rightness ' with God, and only secondarily and by deduction implies moral rectitude of conduct, of which almsgiving and regular prayer were the most typical qualities (cf. Acts 10^{2}).

Paul's experience, however, had convinced him of the inadequacy of the Law as a means of salvation (cf. Essay F), and of the adequacy of Christ. We must try to understand what was the process of this salvation as he traces it. His doctrine of justification by faith, if stated in isolation, is capable of sounding as if it ascribed spiritual efficacy to a mere legal fiction. That, if we believe in Christ, God accepts us for Christ's sake, imputing Christ's merits to us, and treating us as if we were that which we are only in process of becoming, is a doctrine which obviously may be made either a mere apotheosis of formalism, or the declaration of the profoundest of spiritual truths, just

according to the amount of depth that we attribute to the word ' believe ', and the amount of reality that we attribute to the phrase ' in process of becoming '. It is unfortunate that Paul's doctrine of justification has been so largely isolated from the general body of his teaching; for to Paul that doctrine was only one element in his much wider doctrine of salvation through Christ. The formal and forensic appearance of justification vanishes, when we go back to Paul's personal experience, and ask what he actually found in Christianity which made him satisfied that it could make good its offer of salvation.

He found that he actually experienced a spiritual condition which could only be called ' union with Christ '. By this union, a divine power, the power of the Spirit or of Christ, became his possession. It was given to him, not in reward of any desert, but as an act of free grace on God's part. This power he appropriated and made his own by an act of what he calls ' faith '. Faith, then, was not a mere formal assent to certain statements, nor an intellectual conviction of certain facts. It was a man's consent to Christ, elicited from him in response to the attractive power of God's grace. This consent went deeper than a moral harmony of his will with Christ's. It was a real blending of personalities, so that his own Self was raised to a higher power, and he was able to live in a higher category of existence, to ' walk in newness of life '.

This union with Christ, then, is that which ' justifies ' us, i.e. puts us right with God, establishes us in the right relation to Him. Its full fruits do not come at once. The man has not ' already obtained ', and is not ' already made perfect ' (Phil. 3^{12}). There lies before him the gradual process of what Paul calls ' sanctification ', a process which again depends on the continued action of divine grace eliciting man's continued response. But the fruits which begin to grow, from the initial moment of justification, take this shape, that the man is enabled to reproduce spiritually that which Christ had done and been actually. Thus the first overt act of union, the act of being baptized, is a spiritual counterpart of Christ's death and burial, in which we die to sin and are buried with Him through baptism into death (Rom. 6^{4}), and rise to the new life, having put on Christ (Gal. 4^{27}). The act of eating the



Early representations of Christian Communion; second century A. D.

bread and drinking the cup of the Lord is a communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord (1 Cor. 10^{16}). As Christ was crucified, and died, and rose again, and lives, so we are enabled to be crucified to the world (Gal. 6^{14}), to die to sin, to live unto God. We live, yet not we, but Christ lives in us (Gal. 2^{20}).

In the maintenance of such a union with Christ Paul found salvation, the power of being and continuing and growing in a right relation to God. In the whole process God was the prime mover, man was only the moved. There was no earning of God's grace, there were no rules for obtaining it; all that we could do was to allow God to succeed in establishing with us a personal relation of harmony. God's action in Christ was prior to any response that we could make; and God's grace in Christ was active throughout to elicit and develop man's correspondence.

III–V[1]. FAITH AND THE LAW

III[1-14]. *Argument from the faith of Abraham.*

1. *foolish.* There is no tinge of playfulness in the Greek word (ἀνόητοι), as there is in the English. It is a term of stinging rebuke. By going back to superstition, they show themselves to be wanting in reasonableness (νοῦς), in mental balance and sense.

bewitch. A term used of the 'evil eye'.

Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified. The word translated 'set forth' (προεγράφη) was commonly used for the posting up of public proclamations. Some take it here as 'paint, delineate', but no example of such a sense is known, though it is in no way unnatural.

Paul's preaching in Galatia had centred in the Crucifixion of Christ. The Epistles everywhere attest that this was Paul's regular custom. In the Acts the Resurrection is made the matter of chief emphasis. But the discrepancy is only apparent. The Crucifixion and Resurrection are never severed in Paul's thought. The Resurrection showed that the Crucifixion was a sin, and that Jesus was approved of God. Christ crucified is the Saviour, because God raised Him from the dead (cf. Gal. 1^{1}).

2. An appeal to actual experience. They had received

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MYSTERY RELIGION. A youth, whose head is veiled, is being initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus. The priest is in the act of removing the basket which contains the phallus. Stucco decoration from the Villa Farnesina.

the Spirit. This was evidenced both by miraculous signs (v. 5) and by more general inspiration. And this power had resulted from ' the hearing of faith ', i.e. the hearing which comes of faith, which is faith-full.

3. The usual order in Mystery religions was to begin with physical ceremonies which led on to a higher inward illumination. The Galatians are reversing this process. This is ' foolish, mindless '. It seems that the Judaizing teachers must have represented circumcision as a perfecting of the Christian membership, which without it was incomplete.

4. The allusion to persecution can be understood by reference to Acts 14, especially v. 22.

6. *Abraham* received the condition of righteousness (all-rightness with God) as a result of his faith. The quotation is from Gen. 15^6. That Abraham was a stock instance of faith is shown by e. g. 1 Macc. 2^{52}.

7. Thus the possession of faith is proof of a spiritual descent from Abraham, which is more genuine and more important than the physical descent from him, of which circumcision is the evidence.

8. *the scripture* ; a definite passage is meant, such as Gen. 12^3, 18^{18}

9. *faithful* ; here = ' believing ', not ' trustworthy '. The Greek adjective can mean either.

10. The Law curses disobedience, but, by its own confession, cannot justify, for it ascribes justification to faith ; and to obey the Law is, as Paul constantly maintains, impossible to man. Many Jews would not concede this last point ; but Paul has a deeper idea of what is involved in the duty of obedience. Cf. Essay F. The quotation in this verse is from Deut. 27^{26}.

11. Hab. 2^4, though there the meaning is slightly different, ' by his faithfulness '. The sense here may be either ' he that is righteous by faith (and not by the works of the Law) shall live ' or ' the righteous man shall live through faith '.

12. Lev. 18^5.

13. Deut. 21^{23}, where the reference is to hanging or impaling as an additional disgrace.

The language here is startling, almost shocking. We

should not have dared to use it. Yet Paul means every word of it. It is probable that he had in his mind the type of the Scapegoat (Lev. 16[21]). In a formal sense Christ obviously came under the curse of the Law, both because it condemned Him as a blasphemer, and because of the manner of His death. In a spiritual sense, ' while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us '. As the cry of dereliction on the Cross suggests, Christ, by His sympathy for sinners, voluntarily submitted Himself to undergo the inevitable punishment of such sympathy by identifying Himself with

' The type of the Scapegoat.' St. Paul and his hearers might also be familiar with surviving practice. The drawing shows a survival in modern Thrace, where a man partly clad in goatskins is still killed in mimicry. (*J. H. S.*, vol. xxvi, 1906)

their guilt and sharing in its penalty. This was ' to become a curse for us '. It was not by a forensic fiction that Christ bore our sins, but by an act of genuine fellow-feeling, such as any one who loves some one who is unworthy is bound in some measure to feel, e. g. the mother of a son who goes wrong feels his guilt to be hers as well.

14. By making Christ an example of its extreme rigour, the Law showed its own *reductio ad absurdum*, and became a dead letter. So the Gentiles could revert to the promise of the Spirit (which, as Paul is just going to show, was prior in time to the giving of the Law), which was to be given through faith, as in the case of Abraham.

III[15-22]. *The Promise and the Law.*

15. Paul is about to argue from human customs—and not from what? From Old Testament language, perhaps, or from theological principles.

The word (διαθήκη) is translated ' covenant ' in the R.V., but ' testament ' in the margin. Its exact significance here is disputed. In classical Greek and the papyri it is regularly used to mean ' a will or testament ', while a different word (συνθήκη) is used to mean ' agreement or covenant '. On the other hand, the word here found is the constant translation in the Septuagint for the Hebrew *berith*, which means a covenant ; the Greek word is used in this sense in Gal. 4[24]. It is possible that Paul is playing on the double usage of the word, and applying ideas connected with will-making to the Hebrew conception of God's covenant with Abraham. But, since he says that he is arguing from human customs, he may intend to give the word its normal Greek force of ' testament ', or, more generally, of ' disposition of effects ', not necessarily dependent on death. At any rate, Paul cannot have in mind a contract, depending equally on the will of two parties ; for the idea at the bottom of his mind (which comes out in vv. 18–21) is that, in the promise to Abraham, God's grace was alone determinative. It was a promise freely made, and not a bilateral agreement between God and man.

confirmed, i. e. registered at the Record Office ; or, if he is thinking of a will, it may mean ' becomes operative ' by the death of the testator. Here, of course, the analogy would fail, for God cannot die.

no one maketh it void, or addeth thereto. By ancient Greek law, a will formally registered could not be revoked or modified even by the testator. But this prohibition had probably fallen into desuetude by Paul's time. Roman law allowed the revocation of a will, or the adding of codicils to it. A Syro-Roman law-book of the fifth century A. D., which probably represents the custom prevalent in Asia Minor in the first century, allows a will to be invalidated by a subsequent one. Ramsay uses the language here employed by Paul to support his view that Paul is speaking in terms of ancient Greek law which, he supposes,

was in force in southern Galatia, as opposed to the Roman custom which was followed in the north (cf. Introd. A). But it was scarcely worth while for Paul to go so meticulously into technicalities, of which he may well have been ignorant ; and the exact condition of laws of inheritance in Asia Minor in Paul's time is a matter of uncertainty. It is probably safest and most judicious to suppose that Paul is speaking generally, as a layman in legal matters, and that he means that nobody except the disposer can invalidate a disposition of property once made. Therefore the Law cannot revoke or add conditions to God's promise. We may note, as an obvious flaw in the argument, that it was open to a Jew to retort that the Law, being given by God, had itself the effect of a codicil qualifying God's original promise. But Paul's—and other people's—arguments are often less convincing than their conclusions. His argument may at least serve his purpose as a picturesque illustration of his point that God's promise is indefeasible ; and the truth of this rests on our conviction, that a promise of grace is consonant with the essence of God's character as revealed in Christ, more than an external code of regulations, which is more in harmony with the idea of God as a law-giver or monarch.

16. The promise (Gen. 13^{15}, 17^{8}) was to Abraham and his seed. The seed of Abraham Paul had already shown to be the faith-full (Gal. 3^{7}) ; but here he goes deeper, and declares that Abraham's only full ' seed ' is the Messiah. In Christ alone is the promise fulfilled, and therefore to others, only so far as they are ' in Christ '.

Paul backs his conclusion by a verbal argument from the fact that the word ' seed ' is used in the singular, and not in the plural. It is said that neither in Hebrew nor in Greek could the plural word be used of human progeny, though Driver suggests that the plural of the Hebrew word might be used for ' successive generations of men '. But Paul's argument in any case is superficially a mere verbal ingenuity (cf. Essay G). In reality, his feeling is that, as a collective word was used in the promise, so the promise only found its fulfilment in a collective personality, i.e. in Christ. (The Jewish Rabbis also applied this promise to the Messiah.) Essentially, the force of Paul's argument lies in his conviction that Christ is such a collective per-

sonality, as in 1 Cor. 10^4 he states that Christ alone is the spiritual Rock from which the Jews of old had drunk. He relies, that is to say, not on the verbal dialectic, but on the personality of Christ, and uses the verbal argument as his method of setting forth his sense of the completeness of that personality.

17. *four hundred and thirty years.* The period ascribed in Exod. 12^{40} (LXX) to the interval from Abraham to Moses. According to the Hebrew version of the passage in Exodus (as also in Gen. 15^{13}, and, roughly, in Stephen's speech, Acts 7^6), this was the duration of the sojourn in Egypt. The Pentateuch was not yet reduced to a stereotyped form, and divergent traditions on such points of detail were current among the Jews.

18. *inheritance,* i. e. that promised by God to Abraham and his seed. The word (κληρονομία) means generally 'sanctioned possession', and not necessarily or only 'possession by hereditary succession'. Paul's point is that the enjoyment of the promised blessing is independent of the Law, which came 430 years afterwards. He goes on then to meet the obvious question, 'what then was the purpose of the Law at all'.

19. The Law was added 'because of transgressions' (τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν). The sense is not, as we might think, 'to check transgressions', for Paul consistently refuses to regard the Law as an effective influence for holiness; but (1) to complete the feeling of accountability, to make clear the nature of transgression, by presenting it as a breach of divine law; as a dam shows the force of a stream. This idea recurs in Rom. 3^{20}. (2) Paul, however, in Rom. 4^{15}, 5^{20}, $7^{7, 13}$ goes further, and regards the Law as an actual provocation to transgression, as a check often provokes a stronger reaction against it. Its prohibitions operate as suggestions to sin, and so increase the volume of sin's power. Cf. Essay F for a fuller treatment of this idea. This view is the most non-Jewish feature in Paul's position, but it is unquestionably the only view that really corresponds to his language, and it seems to be a revelation of his inner experience, which is of extraordinary interest and suggestiveness.

The Law is inferior to the promise, in that it is (1) temporary—'added until the seed should come', (2) mediated

—' ordained through the angels in the hand of a mediator ', (3) contractual, i. e. a matter of bargaining, of obedience earning reward (so probably v. 20).

ordained through angels, &c. For the angels as agents in the giving of the Law cf. Deut. 33^{2}, Acts 7^{53}. The ' mediator ' can only be Moses ; cf. Heb. 8^{6}.

20. This verse is a famous crux ; countless interpretations of its sense have been put forward. Its drift is plain enough ; in the Law two parties were engaged, in the promise God alone, the promiser, operated. But this sense is stated in cryptic fashion, and it is possible that the verse is a commentator's gloss. Of authoritative interpretations three may be cited as least far-fetched : (1) that of Ritschl. The angels being a body, they have to be represented by a mediator, viz. Moses ; but God is one and so needs no mediator. (Note that when Paul elsewhere calls ' the man Christ Jesus ' the mediator between God and man, he is thinking of our Lord only in His human aspect.) (2) Lightfoot's explanation is that mediation involves two parties, each fulfilling certain terms ; but to the promise there was only one operative party, viz. God. (3) Archbishop Temple's suggestion is : the Law is temporary, because it was ordained through a mediator, and the very idea of a mediator implies separation. But, God being eternally One, separation cannot have a permanent place in any relation with Him. He can only enter into abiding relations with those who are so abidingly united with Him as not to need a mediator. The Promise, being unmediated, is more congruous to the eternal Oneness of God.

21. The Law, so far as it goes, is good ; but it cannot make alive. It cannot give ' the righteousness ' (note the article, ἡ δικαιοσύνη), i. e. the only sort of righteousness in which is eternal life. It cannot give this, simply because it is a law, and the only real all-rightness with God is the result not of works, but of God's free grace.

22. *the scripture* ; again, probably, one definite passage, whichever it may be that Paul has in mind. Ps. 143^{2} or Deut. 27^{26} would correspond to his thought ; or the compilation of passages found in Rom. $3^{10\text{-}18}$.

The scripture has shut up all things under sin, for we cannot fulfil our part of the contract; once more the idea of the Law as too hard to be obeyed. Thus we are driven to despair of earning justification by works of the Law, in order that we may fall back on the promise; and then we find that to believers, as the result of faith in Jesus Christ, the promise actually is fulfilled.

So Paul concludes his argument that the Law is inferior to the Promise, because it is later in time and temporary in purpose. He is now going on to consider it in its preparatory character, in which its inferiority to faith in Christ is made manifest.

ESSAY F. PAUL AND THE MOSAIC LAW[1]

No idea of the Law as a burden is found in the Old Testament. There it is uniformly regarded as something in which the Jew can take a pride and a delight. Ps. 119 is the classical expression of this outlook. But in the Gospels (e.g. Luke 11^{46}), and throughout Paul's writings, we find the Law consistently regarded in the way to which Peter's speech gives expression in Acts 15^{10}, as a 'yoke, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear'. There can be little doubt that this point of view was not uncommon among the Jews of Our Lord's time. For the last two hundred years or more, the 'tradition of the elders', which professed to be a mere commentary on, and exposition of, the Law, had been growing in volume, and had produced such a multitude of minute regulations, that only one party amongst the Jews even professed to obey the Law and Tradition in every detail. This party—the Pharisees—was never more than a numerically small, though very influential, section of the Jewish people. The rest of the people ('this people that know not the Law') only found themselves able to observe the main Mosaic enactments, and had very little concern in the feats of meticulous casuistry that delighted the scribal expositors. Paul, of course, and no doubt other Jews of more spiritual sensitiveness than the average, felt the burden to be more than a mere accumulation of minute observances. What

[1] Cf. Essay A, on 'the occasion of the Epistle'.

they especially felt was the extent of its claims; it set up so high an ideal of conduct as to be unattainable in practice. Such a feeling was due to the sincerity and thoroughness of their spiritual aspirations. Other Pharisees might rest satisfied with literal observance of all its regulations. Paul, and men like him, would not be content with that. They aimed higher, and so were the more conscious of shortcoming.

Our Lord explicitly recognized the divine authority of the Law; but, no less explicitly, He had treated it as something which was imperfect and was exposed to criticism. Not only did He declare war on the accumulation of traditional precepts which had changed into a burden that which had been intended for a blessing; not only did He treat freely many of the current applications of its injunctions (e. g. with regard to anger and adultery), and even regard some of its positive enactments as temporary (e. g. that on divorce); not only did He subordinate the ritual to the moral, and in at least one special case (that of meats and washings) entirely break with its regulations; but, above all, His whole teaching and life was such as to transcend the legal standpoint and to present a new standard whence legalism had vanished; whilst at the Last Supper He hinted at the establishment of a new covenant between God and man, based on His own death, and bringing the forgiveness of sin as its main blessing.

Paul's standpoint is in essentials the same as Our Lord's; yet in its tone it is noticeably different. Our Lord's attitude to the Law is that of one who feels himself its master. Paul's attitude is that of one who had known himself its slave. His objection to the Law went deeper than a feeling of its burdensomeness (which he shared with many Jews), or even of its unattainable loftiness (in which probably some Jews would have concurred with him).

The wonderful passage in Rom. 7^{7-25} shows us the inner heart of his dissatisfaction. 'I had not known sin, except through the law; for I had not known coveting, except the law had said, "Thou shalt not covet": but sin, finding occasion, wrought in me through the commandment all manner of coveting . . . and the commandment, which was unto life, I found to be unto death: For sin, finding occasion, through the commandment beguiled me, and

through it slew me.' There is no question of Paul's meaning in those phrases, paradoxical as that meaning may seem. The Law had been to him, in his experience, an actual provocation to evil; its prohibitions had actually worked in him as a suggestion to sin. To orthodox and conventional Jewish minds, Paul could have said nothing that seemed more startling or even outrageous; but nobody can contest the intense sincerity with which he says it.

The paradox is, nevertheless, the statement of an experience which, in various forms, is not unknown to many other men. Paul's confession places him in kinship with all those people to whom mere commands are in themselves an incitement to disobedience, who rebel almost by reflex action against the domineering of codes and regulations. It is an attitude which all mere disciplinarians abominate. But psychology justifies it, or at least indicates its reasonableness, when it tells us that the mere 'inhibition' of natural impulses is no safeguard, that no real moral stability can be obtained except by so re-directing the instinctive emotions that their force is enlisted on the side of reason and conscience, so that the man not only does but loves that which is commanded.

Paul, in fact, had grasped a tremendous truth, when he realized (and in this his standpoint is most in harmony with his Master's) that, fundamentally, a legalist religion, i. e. a religion which puts its chief stress on obedience, and finds its motive-power in laws, cannot be ultimately satisfactory. It is unsatisfactory, not merely because no system of rules can ever be devised to cover all possible cases—nor because no obedience can ever be fully adequate to God's rights ('when ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do', Luke 17^{10})—but because the whole atmosphere of mere obedience to rules because they are rules tends to generate a negative notion of duty, and fosters the idea that—legal regulations being necessarily definite and therefore limited—duty to God or neighbour has limits, at which its obligation ceases. The lawyer's question, 'Who is my neighbour?' (Luke 10^{29}), is exactly the question which, when we treat the obligation of love as an affair of rule, we are likely and almost bound to ask. Such a question shows that the

essential nature of love has not been understood. A religion of mere rules is therefore bound to be unsatisfactory as a force to call man's instincts and passions to the love of God and man; and it may even act as a repressive force which only excites a stronger desire for rebellion in a man's nature.

The satisfaction, which Paul could not find in the Law, he found in the personal relation to Christ. The motive-power of his new religion was not Law but the love of Christ, which generated a free and spontaneous desire to love Him and be like Him. Such a desire would acknowledge no limits to the scope of its duty, for the essence of love is the wish for continual expansion in the scope of its exercise. This is the lesson enshrined in Our Lord's words 'if any man would take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also' (Matt. 5^{40}).

Such a free love of Christ is of course an ideal. Few men can live consistently on the ideal level. Their tendency is always to slide back to the shelter of rules. Of course, too, even freedom will tend to make or to accept rules for itself as handy summaries of the duties which love prompts it to do. Once more, to man at lower levels of moral development, rules are necessary protections against the temptation to turn freedom into license. Christianity has never been able to dispense with rules and discipline. Even Paul had to produce something like a Christian version of the Commandments (Eph. $4^{25\,f.}$). But, in Paul and in the best Christian teachers, the sanction of discipline has always been the appeal not to mere obedience, but to love and gratitude, to the love of Christ, of God as revealed in Him, and of our neighbour for His sake.

III^{23}–IV^{7}. *Law and Faith.*

23. *faith*: this word throughout is used in the Pauline sense, meaning a condition of life, viz. the condition of personal trust in Christ, the relation of the believer to God thus becoming one not of merit, but of love; in short, faith establishes a personal communion or 'consent' between God and man. Under the dispensation of Law we (i.e. we Jews) were under restriction, shut up, until the dispensation of faith should be revealed.

kept in ward (ἐφρουρούμεθα); either 'kept in prison', until freedom came; or 'kept under guardianship'. The latter translation agrees best with that which immediately follows.

24. *tutor*. The Greek word means neither 'tutor' nor 'schoolmaster' (as A.V.). The *paedagogus* was a slave, who acted in Greek households as the male nurse-companion of boys from seven to seventeen years; he was their moral supervisor, he accompanied them everywhere, he took them to and from school; he possessed the right of exercising discipline and is generally represented on vases, &c., with a stick in his hand. In Roman households, unlike Greek, he also took some share in the teaching of the boys. 'Moral supervisor' or 'supervising slave' better represents the sense of the word.

In this passage, Paul's use of the word clearly comes directly out of the idea of 'wardship' in the previous verse. Paul, we may note, never thinks of the Law as giving rudimentary education until higher teaching can be provided; nor does he regard it as a foreshadowing of Christianity (the idea of which Hebrews is full). To him the Law is that which kept the Jews in a state of pupillage, under its disciplinary protection, until they should become free, when faith in Christ came to them. He has in his mind the contrast between restriction and freedom, not between elementary and higher education. So we can scarcely take his meaning here to be that the Law is our *paedagogus* to bring us to Christ's school, for he does not regard Christ in the position of a teacher; but that the Law kept men under ward 'unto Christ', i. e. until mature freedom in Christ was ready for them.

26. *all* is emphatic; we Jews and you Gentiles. You have obtained full sonship no less than we. We obtained it after a period of discipline under the Law, which is now superseded. You obtained it without that preparation; why then do you want to go back to a stage which we Jews have outgrown?

The punctuation in R.V. is right. The sense is, 'through faith' (perhaps 'your faith', τῆς πίστεως), 'you are sons of God in Christ Jesus', and not 'you are sons of God, through faith in Christ Jesus'.

27. You are, in fact, all of you, one with Christ, and therefore heirs in the true spiritual sense; you share the blessing

Scenes in the life of a child and his paedagogue. A sarcophagus in the Louvre

which in Christ alone is fulfilled, and so you need not seek it in any other way.

baptized into Christ. That this was the primitive formula of baptism is very likely; the full Trinitarian formula seems to have come into use later. But Paul's words here can hardly be taken as indicative of the formula used. 'Baptized into Christ' is a succinct statement of the aim of baptism rather than a reproduction of the formula employed in baptizing.

did put on Christ (ἐνεδύσασθε = put on as a garment); i. e. you then appeared in the character of full-grown sons. The reference to a young man's assumption of the *toga virilis*, on his entrance into manhood, is probably the underlying analogy in Paul's selection of his language here.

28. Distinctions of course remain, even between men who are 'in Christ'; but no distinctions can be taken to involve more or less of religious privilege. Paul does not say 'you are all alike in Christ Jesus' but 'you are all one' ('one man', masculine, εἷς). Thus, so early, the 'catholicity' of Christianity is fully enunciated. Acts tells us the story of the stages by which that catholicity was in practice attained by the Church, and of Paul's own part in procuring its recognition as an essential of the Christian fellowship.

29. If you belong to Christ (or even 'are part of Christ', εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ) then in Him you share the promised blessing, and must not seek for it in legal privilege. Sonship of God comes to you in virtue of spiritual relation to Christ, Who is the 'seed' of Abraham.

heirs (κληρονόμοι) not of a possession to be received; but actual possessors of something now given, which is at once your own. The same sense as is expressed in the Prayer-Book Catechism in the words 'inheritor of the kingdom of heaven'.

IV. 1. An heir, however, even though his father is dead, does not enter into enjoyment of his inheritance until he comes 'of age' in the terms of his father's provision. Till then he remains under tutelage. So we, in our pre-Christian state, were under tutelage, until Christ came, in the fullness of time, and emancipated us into full-grown sonship. Paul's thought here has nothing to do with the contrast between a former slavery to sin and a present freedom of righteousness; his idea is of the contrast between the time

when we were under the restriction of ordinances and the present when we are free sons.

2. *guardians and stewards* (*Gr.* ἐπιτρόπους . . . οἰκονόμους, *Lat. tutores—curatores*). The former would be personal guardians, the latter would be managers of the property. According to Roman Law the former were chosen by the father, and their power lasted till the boy was fourteen years old ; the latter were chosen by the State and managed the property till the heir reached the age of twenty-five ; but there is some evidence that some discretion in varying the limits of time was allowed to or was taken by fathers. According to Greek law, and probably also according to Syro-Roman law, the father could choose both the guardian and the steward, and he had some power to fix the time. Paul's language, however, as above in 3^{15}, is probably to be taken as untechnical, and does not indicate that he is thinking in terms of one system of law rather than another (cf. Introd. A).

3. *rudiments of the world* (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου). This might mean (1) the A B C, the rudiments of religion, which were ' of this world ' because they were a system of external regulations. The original meaning of the word is ' the letters of the alphabet '. (2) But the word was also applied to the physical elements of the universe, and especially to the heavenly bodies, and so to the celestial powers of those bodies.

Lightfoot adopts the former sense here, and in this particular verse it certainly seems most in place. But in v. 9 below, and in Col. $2^{8\text{-}20}$, where the phrase occurs in reference to angel-worship, the second sense seems more suitable. If we think it strange that Paul should regard a relapse to Judaism as a relapse to worship of the elements, i.e. to a sort of idolatry, it can only be replied (1) that in v. 9 he certainly does equate Judaism with the worship of ' them which by nature are no gods ' ; (2) that in its ritual observance of new moons and sabbaths, Judaism was at least cognate to certain features in heathen worships.

Bevan, in his *Hellenism and Christianity*, Essays IV and V, remarks on the dread of the planets which seems to have prevailed in the Graeco-Roman world. Chaldaean astronomers were in universal request. ' When men looked up to the stars, they shuddered to see there the Powers

whose mysterious influence held them in the mechanism of an iron necessity. These were the World-rulers (*κοσμοκράτορες*) who fixed men's destiny without any regard to human will and human tears. Effort, shrewdness, long-laid design could bring no liberation from the predestined law. And especially it was the Seven who bore rule, the five Wandering Stars with the Sun and Moon. . . . It was

στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. A relief showing Mithras sacrificing the bull. Around, the signs of the Zodiac; above, to left and right, the sun rising and the moon setting. Below, two wind-gods

from Babylon that this fear of the stars, and especially of the Seven, had spread through the Roman Empire. It became an obsession. This earth, the sphere of their tyranny, took on a sinister and dreadful aspect; even after death the disembodied ghost would be hemmed in by the demons of the air; the unknown spaces above, the Unknown on the other side of death, were full of terrors. . . . How was a man to escape from the prison-house, to get through all those enveloping spheres that rose, one

above the other, the realm of the Seven, and regain the natural home of his spirit beyond them all? How else than by mastering the celestial topography, by knowing the order of the gates he would have to pass, by knowing what God or demon would confront him at each gate, and the proper password for each? . . . All this *knowing* was *gnôsis*.' This was the general idea at the basis of all the countless sects of Hellenistic mystery-religion. 'The evil of the world seems to have been connected about the time of the Christian era with the domination of the stars.

THE REDEMPTION OF SLAVES in the Greek world. Supporting terrace of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, where the polygonal masonry is scored with some 700 inscriptions recording the manumission of slaves who went through the formula of being sold to Apollo. Actually they paid to the priests the sum of money they had saved to purchase their liberty and the priests gave this sum to the masters of the slaves

Men were "in bondage under the elements of the world". . . . To large masses of men the world, this earth at any rate, was governed by powers either indifferent to their good or actively malignant. Such a conception made the world appear a prison-house from which the human soul cried to be delivered. And the Hellenistic theology averred that the prison-house had limits, that there was a sphere above the realm of the stars, if only the soul could find its way thither.' The knowledge of the prevalence of these notions in the heathen world casts a flood of light not only on Paul's language in this passage, but also on his selection of phraseology and ideas in many other parts of his writings.

4. *born of a woman*, i. e. a purely human birth. There is neither implication nor ignoring of the Virgin-Birth in the phrase.

5. *redeem* (*lit.* ' buy out ', *Gr.* ἐξαγοράσῃ). Paul may be thinking of one process of emancipating a slave ; often a slave deposited the purchase price at a temple, and the master received it from the temple, the slave being nominally redeemed by the god, who thus became his protector. Or he might be thinking of one method of adoption under Roman Law, by which the adoptive father made a fictitious purchase from the natural father.

Adoption was practically unknown to Hebrew custom, but was exceedingly common among the Greeks and Romans. Let us note that in this verse Paul treats even the Jews (' them which were under the law ') as only potential heirs, until they receive the adoption. There is no natural heirship of spiritual privileges. Neither Jew nor Gentile is a full son until God has adopted him into that position ; and to both equally the adoption is open.

6. *because ye are sons* ; i.e. God, having given you the position of sons, also gives you the spirit of sonliness. Privilege first, then the grace to use it. This is a perfectly rational idea. Perhaps, however, the Greek (ὅτι δέ ἐστε υἱοί) means rather ' as to the fact that ye are sons ', i.e. ' as a token that ye are sons '. If so, then his thought is that the possession of the grace proves the possession of the privilege. This is the thought in Rom. 8^{14}, ' as many as are led by the Spirit of God these are sons of God ' ; and in Gal. 3^{2-5} he argues from the fact that they received the Spirit to convince them of their position as heirs. The two, in fact, the grace and the status, are inseparable, and assist each other. We instinctively desire God, and so know that we are intended to be His sons ; but conversely, being adopted as His sons, we are bold to approach Him.

Abba Father (*Abba* is Aramaic for father). Obviously a formula in common Christian use, probably in the address of the Lord's Prayer. For similar usages of Aramaic or Hebrew words in a Greek setting cf. Mark 14^{36}, Rom. 8^{15} (*Abba* Father), 1 Cor. 16^{22} (*Maranatha* = Our Lord cometh), Rev. 1^{7} (*Nai Amen*, Nai being Greek for ' Yes ', and Amen being Hebrew). Similarly even in churches with vernacular

liturgies, the Hebrew 'Amen' is retained, and parts of the service are known by Latin or Greek titles, e. g. the Te Deum, the Sanctus, the Kyrie Eleison.

7. You are a son, and therefore an heir; you do not need to strengthen your position by being circumcised.

IV 8-20. *A personal appeal.*

Verses 8–11 follow directly on what precedes, and, having brought in the personal element, they introduce the vehement appeal of vv. 12–20, which Paul utters parenthetically, returning to his doctrinal argument in v. 21.

9. On the meaning of the term translated 'rudiments' cf. note on v. 3 above. Here he seems to equate the 'rudiments' with 'them which by nature are no gods', and the translation 'elements' is more in place. It is startling to see that Paul actually goes so far as to accuse these Gentile Christians who are desiring to 'Judaize', of relapsing into superstitious idolatry; he thus places Judaism in the same category with heathenism. Such a sentence would not only startle but outrage most Jews. It must be reckoned as one of Paul's occasional violences of controversial statement. Nevertheless, it is not a mere piece of wantonness. Paul would never deny that Judaism was divinely revealed, nor would he assert that the heathen religions were as true as Judaism; in other contexts he classes the heathen worships as the worship of 'devils' (1 Cor. 10^{20}) or of 'them which are no gods' (v. 8 here). He is here thinking, however, not of Judaism as the religion of Yahweh, but of Judaism as a system of external observances (so in v. 10); in this respect it is on a parity with heathenism; relatively to the Christian dispensation of faith, all externalism, whether Jewish or heathen, is in one class as a dispensation of bondage to weak and beggarly elements. He has specially in mind, of course, the observance of stated days and years, as typical specimens of Jewish ritualism.

12. *be as I am, for I am, as ye are* (*lit.* 'become as I, for I also as ye', γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς). A vague phrase, which very probably is vague on purpose; it throws out an atmosphere rather than defines a comparison. If we seek to take it more precisely, we may choose between

(1) ' become free as I am, for I was once in bondage to Judaism as you are now becoming ', and (2) ' become free as I am, for I once became as a Gentile to you, so as to be like you ', referring to the time when he had shed all Jewish prejudices to win them. Of these two the second is undoubtedly preferable. The translation (3) ' be (come back to be) free as I am, for I am (free) as you are ' somewhat misses the sense of ' become ' (*γίνεσθε*), and gives a weak meaning.

Ye did me no wrong. The connexion is not obvious. Perhaps he is referring to something which the Galatians said to placate Paul, as, e. g. that, though they were Judaizing, they still respected him ; to which he replies, ' you did respect me, and may not have ceased to do so, but your allegiance is impaired '. Or it may simply be a reference to the kindness with which they had first received him, and an appeal, in the name of that kindness, to be true to him now.

13. *an infirmity of the flesh.* (For the bearing of this point on the question, who were the Galatians, cf. Introd. A.) As to the actual illness in question, we have no certainty. Some have supposed it to be epilepsy, others a disease of the eyes ; both theories would fit the fact that it seems to have been such as to provoke disgust and repulsion (cf. v. 14 here), while the latter may be supported by the reference, in v. 15, to the readiness of the Galatians to pluck out their eyes and give them to him, though that might be a perfectly general phrase. Paul does not give the impression of an epileptic. Ramsay brings the reference here into connexion with Paul's ' stake in the flesh ' (2 Cor. 12^7), which seems to have been a chronic complaint of his, and suggests that it is malarial headache, which is described by sufferers from malaria as a ' red-hot iron ' in the head, and that Paul caught it in the lowlands of Pamphylia, after he entered that enervating region on the completion of his tour in Cyprus (Acts 13). This would not be repulsive in its effects on the personal appearance, but the disease was regarded in Asia Minor as a direct infliction of the gods, and is often invoked in curse formulae. This would consort with the language in v. 14 here, ' ye despised not nor rejected ' (*lit.* ' spat out ').

the first time. This is generally employed in the vague sense of ' formerly ' ; if we prefer to take it as meaning ' on the

first of two occasions ', it implies that Paul had already visited Galatia twice. (The bearing of this point on the date of the letter is considered in Introd. B.)

14. *as an angel of God.* An interesting, but perhaps no more than an accidental, coincidence may be found in the story of Acts 14^{12}.

15. *gratulation of yourselves*, i. e. self-felicitation.

17. The Greek word (ζηλοῦσιν) implies ' earnest desire ' and so ' jealousy ', often, though not here, in the bad sense of ' envy '. Paul may be referring to some assertion of the Galatians that these Judaizing teachers are ' paying court ' to them. ' Yes,' he replies, ' but it is not for your good ; they want to shut you out (i. e. ' they say you are not saved ' ; or perhaps, ' they want to exclude you from the Church until you are circumcised ', but we are not sure that the Judaizers went so far as this), in order that you may pay court to them '.

18. Paul is quite ready that some one else, when he is absent, should look after his converts, so long as it is done in a good spirit. He is not jealous, but he does not want them to be the victims of misleading kindness.

19. Another way of expressing the idea of mystical union with Christ. Contrast ' did put on Christ ' in 3^{27}.

IV^{21}–V^{1}. *Bondage and Freedom.*

On the general subject of Paul's use of argument from Scripture, of which this is such an interesting example, cf. Essay G.

The Jews prided themselves on having Abraham to their father and Sarah to their mother. Paul takes the story and turns it into an allegory, according to which those who are under the yoke of the Law are spiritually sons of Hagar, whilst those who are free sons, inheritors of the promise, are spiritually sons of Sarah. Once again, the force of the conclusion depends less on the allegorizing dialectic than on the conviction that freedom is a higher condition than legal obedience, and that Christ gives freedom.

The allegory is not worked out in full detail ; but its structure is quite simple. On the one side we have Hagar, the slave, whose son, Ishmael, was born ' after the flesh ', i.e. in the simple course of nature (Gen. 16^{5}) ; these repre-

sent the earthly Jerusalem, and the bondage of the Law, and are to suffer rejection (v. 30). On the other hand we have Sarah, the free woman ; her son Isaac, born through a divine promise (Gen. 21^2) ; these represent the Jerusalem that is above, and the freedom in Christ, which confers inheritance.

25. *Now this Hagar is mount Sinai in Arabia.* Note that the punctuation of R.V. here is wrong ; that which corresponds to Jerusalem is not ' this Hagar ', but the Sinaitic covenant which Hagar typifies. The words should read : ' one ⟨covenant⟩ from mount Sinai, bearing children unto bondage, which is Hagar (now this Hagar is mount Sinai in Arabia) and answereth to (*Gr.* συνστοιχεῖ = is in the same column with) the Jerusalem that now is.' The point, then, of the parenthetical clause is to justify his placing the Sinaitic covenant in relation to Hagar and not to Sarah. He finds his reason in the historic connexion of Hagar and her son with Arabia, where Sinai lies ; when banished by Abraham, Hagar wandered into the Arabian desert (Gen. $16^{7, 14}$), and the Arabs were known as ' sons of Hagar '. The Hagarenes in Ps. 83^6 are an Arab tribe, and Lightfoot tells us that in the national legends of the Arabs Hagar figures prominently as the lawful wife of Abraham.

The exact text of this parenthetical clause is very uncertain. The MS. authority is about equally divided between the omission and the inclusion of the word ' Hagar ' (in *Gr.* the readings vary between τὸ δὲ Ἄγαρ Σινὰ ὄρος ἐστίν and τὸ γὰρ Σινὰ ὄρος ἐστίν).

(A) If we retain the word, the meaning may be : (*α*) ' this Hagar ' (τὸ δὲ Ἄγαρ. Not the woman, but the thought which that name stands for, viz. bondage), i.e. that which Hagar stands for, ' corresponds to Sinai in Arabia ', i.e. in a non-Jewish country, far from the Holy Land. (*β*) It has, however, been suggested that Paul actually means : ' the word Hagar is in Arabia used for Sinai.' This is etymologically incorrect. The Arabic *chagar* means rock or stone, but Hagar is from a different root. Paul might none the less have used the verbal play ; but can we believe that the Galatians would have understood it ?

(B) If we omit Hagar and read ' now mount Sinai is in Arabia ', the clause sounds at first like a futile gloss ; but it is not really so. Paul has just identified Hagar with

the covenant from Sinai ; Mount Sinai, he throws in, is in Arabia, in the non-Jewish land. Israel went to the slave's country for their law.

27. The quotation, from Isa. 54[1], refers to the deliverance of the Jews from national calamities ; but it could easily be brought into reference with the story of Sarah, which is actually referred to in Isa. 51[2] ; and we are told that the Rabbis used in fact to associate those two passages. Paul, then, is only transferring them to the Jerusalem which is above, which he has placed ' in the same column with ' Sarah.

29. *persecuted*. In Gen. 21[9] Ishmael only ' mocks ' (or more probably, ' plays with ') Isaac. But Jewish tradition tended to expound this as meaning insolence, or even an attempt to shoot him ; and moreover the Ishmaelites were among the chronic enemies of the Jews (Ps. 83[6]).

30. A quotation from Gen. 21[10]. The Jews would use it to express their conviction that God must reject the non-Jews. Paul, with amazing boldness, turns the prophecy round and uses it to augur the rejection of the bondage of Jewish legalism. Considering the time at which he lived, and his upbringing, Paul's thought is startling in its originality and independence.

V. 1. The R.V. translates the text which has the greatest amount of MS. authority, and which is adopted by Westcott and Hort (*τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν· στήκετε οὖν* κτλ.). The translation ' with freedom ' is perhaps less correct than ' for freedom '. (Hort inclines to think that the original reading was *ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ*, which must mean ' for freedom ').

But a number of MSS. and versions have a relative instead of an article before ' freedom ' (*ᾗ* instead of *τῇ*). In this case the words are best taken with what precedes (of course the division into chapters and verses is centuries subsequent to the MSS.), and we translate either ' we are children of the free-woman, by the freedom with which, &c.', or ' we are children of her who is free with the freedom with which, &c.'

Finally, other MSS. offer the text which is translated in the A.V., in which both the article and the relative are added to the word ' freedom ', and ' therefore ' is transferred to the earlier part of the verse (*τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ οὖν ᾗ* κτλ.). Lightfoot adopts this reading. To translate it we must connect ' stand fast ' with what precedes, and so we get ' stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith, &c.'

ESSAY G. PAUL'S USE OF SCRIPTURE

It is somewhat of a surprise to find that, in addressing a predominantly Gentile Church, Paul makes use of a type of scriptural argument which, we should suppose, would be properly in place only if addressed to Jewish readers. But (1) we must remember that the Galatian Churches certainly comprised a large number of Gentiles who, before their conversion, had been in some degree affiliated to the Jewish synagogue (cf. Essay A), and who thus had been accustomed to hear characteristically Jewish arguments from Scripture. (2) We must also bear in mind that no specifically Christian literature was yet in existence. The Christian Bible was the Jewish Old Testament; and there is very little doubt that the Jewish sacred books—or, more probably, selected extracts from these—were regularly used in Christian assemblies, even in Paul's time. The Old Testament would, therefore, not be unknown country to any Christian convert. No doubt many Christians devoted such time and energy as they could spare to 'searching the Scriptures' (cf. Acts 17^{11}); and Paul himself, in this Epistle (4^{21}), addresses the Galatian Christians as people who 'hear the law'. (3) It is clear that the Jewish teachers, whom Paul is controverting, must have made much use of the Old Testament, in recommending observance of the Mosaic Law. Paul would have to meet them on their own ground; nor is it unlikely that, even in his positive preaching, Paul himself must have gone to the Old Testament to support his contention that Christ had come as the climax of a divine preparation. To expound his conception of the Church as 'the Israel of God' (Gal. 6^{16}) would by itself necessitate a great deal of Old Testament citation in order to make his meaning clear.

The scriptural arguments in this Epistle which strike us as most peculiar are (1) that from the use of the word 'seed' in the promise to Abraham (3^{16}), (2) the allegory of Sarah and Hagar in $4^{21\,f.}$ These are both conceived in the conventional Jewish manner. The first, an argument from the verbal form of a particular text, rests for its force on the view that the verbal forms in the sacred writings are no less the product of inspiration than their spiritual contents. The second is an example of that allegorizing treat-

ment of biblical stories which was very much in favour in the learned circles of Judaism. Such treatment did not imply a denial of the historic bearing of the stories, but rested on the belief that those stories also contained a spiritual meaning which could be read out of them by a properly qualified expositor. It is obvious that the particular meaning which any individual teacher could find in a particular story would depend on the special cast or tendency of his mind. Thus Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, who is more or less a contemporary of Paul, reads the story of Sarah and Hagar as an exposition of religio-philosophical truths, in which Abraham represents the human soul, while Sarah and Hagar stand respectively for divine wisdom and secular learning. Thus more than one meaning could be read from the same text. Indeed there would be no end to the possibilities of manipulation, given a sufficient variety of manipulators.

Both these types of exegesis lived on into the Christian Church. The allegoristic method, in particular, continued to be used by Christian teachers for centuries, and, in some forms, is not even yet obsolete in certain circles of Christian study. But to most of us, no doubt, such methods of argument appear unsatisfactory and far-fetched. Partly they seem to depend on mere ingenuity in the use of verbal points. Partly we live under the domination of the school of historical criticism, which insists especially on the historical view of the Old Testament. We are no longer much moved by that style of biblical exposition which used to revel in finding within the Old Testament types and foreshadowings of Christ and of Christian doctrines and practices. E. g. How many nowadays regard the preservation of Noah in the Flood or of the Israelites in the Red Sea, in relation to Christian baptism, as anything more than a picturesque analogy ? (cf. the first prayer in the baptismal service of the Prayer Book). In general, it seems to us that all this method of scriptural argument is artificial. The reasoner who uses it wishes to bring out his desired conclusion, and he then finds analogies from the Old Testament to support it. His argument from Scripture does not help us much or at all. We feel that the force of the proposition which he is justifying depends on other considerations than an ingenious use of Old-

Testament parallels. Paul's argument for Christian freedom from the allegory of Sarah and Hagar leaves us cold. It is the principle for its own sake that attracts us, and we no longer think that he fortifies it by a literal exegesis of biblical texts or by an allegoristic interpretation of biblical stories.

Let us, however, note one circumstance, which should go far to mitigate our feeling that Paul's argument in this and similar cases is uncongenial to our ways of thinking. Until the rise and development of historical criticism, allegorism was the only way of retaining some liberty of thought, in the treatment of the Old Testament. The Old Testament being accepted as a manual of religion, the bondage of literalism would have been very oppressive, if the allegoristic method had not come to men's rescue and freed them from reading the narratives as mere records of hard fact, embodying examples of morals and religion which were to be taken quite literally. By reading them allegorically, some freedom at any rate was gained for the human mind and spirit to read out of them such principles as best commended themselves to their growing spiritual sense.

In a broader sense, the argument from Scripture still has a force for us. Historical criticism, rightly applied, only strengthens the conviction that the Old Testament is prophetic through and through. The development of religious ideas in the Old Testament is only properly fulfilled when it is carried on into Christianity, and Christianity is only placed in its proper historical setting when it is seen as the heir of all that is highest and deepest in Judaism. To such a view Paul would feel himself no stranger. But he had been brought up in the atmosphere of legalist Judaism, in which a cruder application of this view was current, and both his training and the necessities of controversy inclined him to make use of such methods of argument. We may think that we can detect in Paul's writings certain signs of impatience with his own weapon. Even the allegory of Sarah and Hagar is never completely worked out in this Epistle. Paul shows no pleasure in his own ingenuity. He seems to be in a hurry to set out the spiritual principle of freedom with which he is possessed, and he leaves his allegory only half-expounded. This

criticism may be considered fanciful. Nevertheless it is worth noticing that, broadly speaking, Paul's arguments from the Old Testament deal more with principles than with texts (cf. Rom. 11^{1-5}, $15^{8\,f.}$; 1 Cor. $10^{1\,f.}$). We do not find elsewhere in his Epistles anything so 'Rabbinic' as the two examples which we have cited from this Epistle. We may conclude that, though Paul—at least in controversy with Jews and Judaizing Christians—may never quite have shed the effects of his Jewish education, he was yet, in fundamentals, emancipated from the influence of Rabbinic scholarship.

V^{2}–VI^{10}. PRACTICAL EXHORTATION

V^{2-12}. *Freedom and Love.*

2. *I Paul.* Very emphatic (ἐγὼ Παῦλος). Either I, who am a Jew; or I, who am your founder; or I, who am said to preach circumcision (v. 11).

3. Were, then, the Galatians thinking that they could be circumcised and yet need not keep the whole Law? We know that not a few Gentiles were in the habit of keeping some part of the Law, without, however, being circumcised. And none but the Pharisees aspired to keep every jot of the Law and the Tradition. But we do not know whether the Judaizing teachers in Galatia had attempted to make this preaching of circumcision more acceptable by relaxing some of the other requirements of the Law. Paul at any rate insists that, if they Judaize, they must do it thoroughly.

4. *severed.* He could not use a stronger word (κατηργήθητε); it literally means something like 'you are brought to absolute nothingness'. Compare Rom. 7^{6}, where it recurs and is translated in R.V. 'we have been discharged'.

5. Through the Spirit, and not through the flesh; by faith and not by works. They wait, not for a hoped-for righteousness, for they were already righteous, i. e. 'all right' with God; but for a good hoped for, associated with the righteousness which they already possess; viz. for eternal life.

6. All external ordinances are purely matters of indifference; only an inspired spontaneity of active love matters in Christ Jesus. 'Faith working through love' (*Gr.* ἐνεργουμένη) is better than 'faith wrought or made operative through love'.

7–12. A personal appeal to exercise the true Christian freedom.

8. *him that calleth you* ; i. e. God. Cf. 1^{6}.

9. Obviously a proverbial expression. It recurs in 1 Cor. 5^{6}, and Paul constantly uses the analogy of leaven to signify the insidious working of evil influence. Only in the parable of the Kingdom as a leaven (Matt. 13^{33}) do we find the analogy applied in a good sense. The application here is less probably to the doctrine of the Judaizers than to the actual people ; they seem therefore to have been a small section, and v. 10 may even imply that one influential man had been the source of the whole trouble.

10. *judgement,* by God or by man, or both. A case of apparently ecclesiastical excommunication occurs in 1 Cor. 5^{5}.

11. For the implied slander on Paul cf. Essay B.

12. *cut themselves off* (*Gr.* ἀποκόψονται). Ramsay maintains that this must be the meaning, comparing Mark 9^{43}, and that the R.V. marg. translation 'mutilate themselves' would be an unnecessary expression of rage, such as we might hear from an irate Oriental but can scarcely credit Paul to have descended to. The marginal translation is nevertheless the only one that is linguistically possible. The sense, coarse as it is, gains at any rate some point from the comparison which Paul has already made (4^{9}) between Judaism and heathenism. If these Judaizers are so keen on circumcision, why do they not go a step further, and mutilate themselves, like the priests of Cybele ? It is a last and culminating reduction of circumcision to the level of a merely external act.

ESSAY H. PAUL'S VIEW OF CHRISTIAN FREEDOM

Paul reaches in chapter V his practical conclusion. All the doctrinal arguments, about Faith and the Law, the Promise and the Law, Grace and Works, are summed up in the conclusion that the *differentia* of Christianity is Freedom. The Christian life is not an obedience to rules, but a free spontaneity, for which rules are unnecessary ; it is a spontaneous application of Faith in Love. Augustine's apophthegm, 'Ama, et fac quod vis' ('love, and do what you wish'), is in direct lineage from Paul's thought ;

for to Paul faith in Christ implies love of Christ, and love of Christ implies love of your neighbour. From this point of view Circumcision, as a necessity to salvation, is once more repudiated. To trust to it shows lack of faith in Christ, for essentially it means trusting to human desert

PRIEST OF CYBELE holding in his right hand the holy water sprinkler, in his left a basket of fruit. Round him are tympana, a scourge, and the mystic chest which held the holiest things of the ritual

rather than giving oneself up to divine influence. But freedom does not mean licence. Faith in Christ must show particular fruits in particular qualities of character. The presence of these qualities is the test of the reality of the faith. The Christian motto is not 'do as you please', but 'love' (Paul would say 'believe', with much the same meaning), 'and do as you please', for then the works of love will alone 'please' you.

Of course, Christianity in practice cannot entirely dispense with rules, and Paul knew that well. Rules are crutches to support human weakness; and beyond this, obedience to rules is a contributory verification of the sincerity of faith. Indeed, from one point of view, the law of love is as much a law as the law of circumcision. But the difference between the two laws is nevertheless radical: (1) the law of love, 'the Law of Christ', is not a prescription of external observance. It is a command 'to be' such and such. This command we can never fully obey. 'To be loving' means 'to go on becoming more loving'. Love is essentially diffusive and expansive. Thus the Christian law involves a continual falling-back on divine inspiration. (2) In Christianity rules are not of the essence of its spirit, but are a mere inference from it. (3) Especially, the whole atmosphere of religious life is changed from that of a King's Court to that of a Father's Home. The rule of legalism is 'accept, obey, and you will be doing your duty'. The rule of Christianity is 'Love, believe in God, and you must want to be sonlike'. The stress is shifted from dutiful obedience to loving response. The Christian obedience is not the acceptance of a 'heteronomy', i. e. of a law imposed from outside, but is really autonomous. It is the acceptance of a 'theonomy', i. e. of a rule of God. But, as God and the believer are one by God's grace and man's faith, this theonomy is a spontaneous, self-received obligation. In this way God's 'service' becomes 'perfect freedom'. To serve Him is to be free, *cui servire regnare est.*

V^{13}–VI^{10}. *Practical application of Freedom in Love.*

A. General application (5$^{13.24}$). A warning that licence is not consonant with Christian freedom.

13. You were called for freedom; but be slaves (δουλεύετε) to one another, through love.

14. Much more simple, but infinitely more exacting than the Law; and so different in its tone. The rule is found of course in Lev. 19^{18}; but the Jewish tendency was to limit the meaning of the word 'neighbour' to, at most, fellow-Israelites. In Luke 10^{29} the whole idea is expanded to have a universal application.

is fulfilled (πεπλήρωται); either 'is perfected' or 'is summarily embodied in this saying':

16. It is all a question of the Spirit, in which you walk. It is doubtful whether Spirit here means 'the Holy Spirit', or whether it is more general and 'in the spirit' simply means 'spiritually'. There is no article (Πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε) and we may roughly say that, when Paul means 'the Holy Spirit', he attaches an article to the noun. But the two meanings shade so imperceptibly into one another that such a rule cannot be strictly applied. To Paul the conception of 'Spirit' is not yet, and perhaps never was, quite precise and definite. To him 'the spiritual' was a kind of soul-atmosphere, of which God's Holy Spirit was the life-giving force, and in which men, as it were, bathed themselves. Thus he did not distinguish logically between the thought of the divine force and that of the atmosphere in which that divine force energized. Here he draws the clear opposition between the life in the spirit and the life which rests in material and external things. The 'flesh' to him does not mean merely the carnal and sensual nature with its temptations and sins, but the whole nature of man as a mere 'this-worldly' person. Among his list of 'works of the flesh' are many which are not carnal or sensual, in the narrower sense in which we apply those terms. Cf. Essay J.

17. This is an ambiguous sentence. It may mean: (1) the result of the opposition between flesh and spirit is that we are in a state of anarchy; we cannot act as free men, and do what we will, whether good or evil. This is a reasonable and perfectly possible sense. (2) If we treat the clause 'for these are contrary the one to the other' as a parenthesis, and carry the force of 'that' back to the words preceding the parenthesis, we get two alternatives to choose from: (*a*) the Spirit opposes the flesh, so that we cannot (or perhaps, 'in order that we may not be able to') do the evil that we want to do; conscience checks the evil desires. (*b*) Flesh and Spirit oppose one another, so that we cannot do the good that we would do. This last is certainly the thought in Rom. $7^{15\,16}$. Whatever Paul's exact meaning, his purport is clear. To do the things that we would is the mark of the free man. In the unregenerate state, flesh and spirit tear us between them, and we are unable to act as free men. But, if we walk by the Spirit,

we escape the dominion of the flesh, and become free instruments of the spiritual side of our nature.

18. The works of the law are not here identified with the works of the flesh ; Paul would never do that. But, if we are still in the legalist stage, we are not free from the continual harassment of the flesh and its lusts ; if we give ourselves up to the Spirit, and are no longer under the law, we substitute the positive force of faith for the negative restraint of law, and so we are able to master the flesh.

19. *manifest.* The lust may be hidden, but the works show its presence and its nature. In the present list of vices it may be needless to look for any special principles of classification. But if one be desired, nothing better than Ramsay's could be found. He classifies them as (1) sins connected with the practice of the heathen religions—fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness (with special reference to such practices as religious prostitution), idolatry, and sorcery (*φαρμακία* = magic). (2) Sins connected with the municipal life of the towns, with their internal factions and their endless rivalries between city and city—enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, heresies (i. e. parties), envyings. Most MSS. add ' murders ' (*φόνοι*) after ' envyings ' (*φθόνοι*), and so the A.V. has the word ; but our two most ancient MSS. omit it, and it is thought to have been interpolated from Rom. 1^{29}. (3) Social faults—drunkenness and revellings.

22. The list of the qualities which are the fruit of the Spirit is similarly unsystematic. Lightfoot arranges them as (1) general habits of the Christian mind—love, joy, peace ; (2) special qualities affecting a man's intercourse with his neighbour—longsuffering, kindness, goodness (*ἀγαθωσύνη* = beneficence) ; (3) general principles which guide a Christian's conduct—faithfulness (*πίστις*, probably not here ' belief in God ', but ' trustworthiness '), meekness, temperance (*ἐγκράτεια* = self-control). Such lists of virtues and vices were apparently popular at this period. We find similar catalogues not only elsewhere in Paul's writings (e. g. Rom. $1^{29\,f.}$, 2 Cor. 12^{20}, Col. $3^{5,\,8}$, 1 Tim. $1^{9,\,10}$, 2 Tim. $3^{2\,f.}$), but also in Plato and Philo and in Stoic writers. Deissman (*Light from the Ancient East*, p. 320) cites also a popular game of counters, in which each counter was marked with the name of a virtue or a vice.

It is very interesting to note how fully the characteristic *êthos* of Christianity is presented, in so early a writing as this. The passage in this respect is of unique historical interest. No doubt many of these virtues had already been commended by pagan moralists. But the combination of them, which we find here, and the total omission of the self-assertive qualities, which such a writer as Aristotle had ranked very highly, result in setting forth an ethical ideal of a quite distinctive and peculiar type, which has ever since been the characteristic ideal of Christian morals. The attempt to live up to such an ideal is 'the imitation of Christ'; and we may in fact say that all Christian moral theory (from this passage or 1 Cor. 13 onwards) is essentially nothing else but the effort to analyse the constituent elements in the character of the historical Jesus, as revealed in His recorded sayings and doings. Such a passage as this suggests the inference that, before any gospels had been written, a tradition of the personal qualities of Jesus had been part of the apostolic teaching within the Church, and that it is this tradition which guides Paul's selection of virtues in this passage, or his analysis of the elements of Love in 1 Cor. 13. If this is so, the 'eschatological' theory, which holds that the first Christians were only interested in the position of Christ as Ruler of the coming 'kingdom of God', and had little interest in the events of His earthly career or in His moral Personality and teaching, must be considered to be considerably exaggerated. Such a theory accounts fairly well (though by no means completely) for the picture of Christ as given us in St. Mark (in which the eschatological aspect of Christ's work is certainly emphasized); but it does not account for the collection of Christ's sayings which, as most synoptic students agree, came into existence as early as, or even earlier than, the second Gospel, and was one of the primary sources of the first and third Gospels; nor does it account for the completeness of the Christian moral ideal as we find it in such passages as this, an ideal which, as we can now see, is fully in harmony with the synoptic portrait of Christ. Such a harmony can hardly result from anything else than the fact that Paul and the early Church possessed and treasured a real tradition of the kind of character which Jesus had manifested while on earth. He was to

them not merely the One who was coming with clouds. He was also the One who had been such and such, and had spoken or acted in such and such a way; and the proof that a Christian possessed His Spirit was the fact that he manifested such moral qualities as the Incarnate Lord had manifested and now inspired.

23. *against such there is no law.* These are positive and come from within; there is nothing in them that needs restraint, or that, for that matter, moves in the sphere of regulation at all.

ESSAY J. 'FLESH' AND 'SPIRIT' IN PAUL'S WRITINGS

It is not easy to find any one consistent meaning in Paul's use of the terms 'flesh' and 'spirit'. His use, in fact, is not precise or scientific. Thus, by 'spirit' he means sometimes the Holy Spirit as the agent of God's energy in man; sometimes he means the human spirit, that element in man's nature in which God operates; at other times he seems to mean by the term a spiritual condition of the whole nature of a man, as, e.g., where he tells the Roman Christians 'ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit' (Rom. 8^9). So, also, by the term 'flesh' he sometimes means the physical body; e.g. in Rom. 8^3, where he speaks of Christ as coming 'in the likeness of sinful flesh', or in 1 Cor. 15^{50}, where he says that 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God'. But elsewhere he uses the term to mean a sinful condition of the whole man. Thus 'to be in the flesh' is to be incapable of pleasing God (Rom. 8^8); and in his list of 'works of the flesh' (Gal. $5^{19\,f.}$) he includes many other sins besides those of sensuality or of sensual origin.

Some of Paul's language is obviously capable of a dualistic interpretation, and superficially seems to imply the view that man's physical system is inherently wicked and necessarily antagonistic to higher promptings. Certainly his phraseology, if examined for traces of a psychological system, exhibits confusion or inconsistency. He speaks of 'spirit' and 'flesh' sometimes as if they were elements in human nature, and sometimes as if they were

conditions of human nature; and, if his language is uncertain, we cannot be sure that his thought was not uncertain also. But, consciously and deliberately, Paul was not and, in fact, could not be a dualist. Thus (1) he regards the spirit of man as something which can be defiled (2 Cor. 7^1). He believed in the activities of evil spirits, which aimed to seduce man's spirit. His own moral experience made him sure of the seriousness and subtlety of spiritual temptations. (2) Moreover, the dualist view, that the material body is inherently vicious, was absolutely barred to him by (*a*) his belief in the sinlessness of the Incarnate Christ, which proved that a human body could be a perfect instrument of the divine Spirit, and (*b*) by his belief in the resurrection of the body, which implies that, though human flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, yet they can be sublimated into something fit for God's unveiled presence.

To call Paul a dualist is, in fact, to misconceive the character of his teaching altogether. His moral views are based on the ethics of the Old Testament, and not on Greek metaphysics. He is in no sense a systematic philosopher, but a practical religious and moral teacher; and, like every serious moral teacher, he is disposed to emphasize the moral struggle that goes on within man, under the play of opposing spiritual influences. So too, as a practical moralist, he held that, in actual fact, human nature is a flawed instrument, and is possessed of a propensity to evil. This he read as a consequence of the Fall.

Paul's views on the subject of human nature are to be studied not as the result of psychological analysis, but as the religious convictions of a supremely sincere Christian. His language is that of Christian practice and not of scientific speculation. His convictions in regard to this subject are mainly three: (1) he is certain of the presence of God energizing through His Spirit in human life. (2) He is certain that man possesses an element in his nature, his 'spirit', in virtue of which he is capable of responsive co-operation with the energy of God. But (3) he is also certain that this response cannot be given by man without the help of divine grace (Rom. $7^{24\text{-}5}$). Man's spirit is not *proprio motu* capable of holiness. Man can only be 'in the spirit', if the Spirit of God dwells in him (Rom. 8^9). The

'law in his mind', therefore, needs divine assistance to be effective for good; and the 'law in his members' is actually antagonistic to good (Rom. 7^{23}). Thus the flesh is 'flesh of sin' (Rom. 8^{3}); the natural impulses of man, or, in other words, human nature as it actually is, is predisposed, if unsanctified by grace, to co-operate with evil influences.

Thus we arrive perhaps most nearly at Paul's real meaning, if we take him to mean, by 'spirit', human nature as influenced, or capable of being influenced, by God; and, by 'flesh', human nature as actually sinful, or as disposed to sin. When he calls a man 'carnal', he means one whose nature, predisposed to evil by its descent from Adam, has not submitted to the motions of divine grace. Such un-graced nature he calls 'flesh'. To be in this condition is to be 'in the flesh'. The 'spiritual' man, the man who is 'in the spirit', is he whose nature has submitted to the motion of God, which motion, operating within him, produces a holiness both inward and outward. In his spirit the Spirit of God dwells; and his body is 'the temple of the Holy Ghost' (1 Cor. 6^{19}). Both the outer and the inner life, both body and mind, need, and are capable of, sanctification; and the work of sanctification or of corruption proceeds in both spheres together.

B. Special application of freedom in love to party rivalry ($5^{25, 26}$).

25. *if we live*, are living; not implying that we have yet attained to perfection, for we still need to be exhorted to walk in the spirit in which our life is set.

26. The repetition of this injunction, already given in v. 15, must be due to some special circumstances in Galatia or in the Galatian Church, which led Paul to fear the tendency to faction.

C. Special application to the duty of forgiveness (6^{1-5}).

VI. 1. This passage may of course be quite general in its intention; and nobody can say that it is not always valuable, as a summary both of the right spirit of Church discipline, and of the right spirit that should prevail in men's relations to one another. But it may also be due to some special circumstances in the Galatian Church. May it not also be that Paul, after his violent attack on

the Judaizing teachers within the Galatian Church, may have feared that his own supporters ('ye which are spiritual' might have this special implication), if they gained the upper hand, might proceed to over-drastic extremities in dealing with them, and that he therefore issues a warning against such a danger? Cf. 2 Cor. 2^{6-8}, where Paul has to intercede for the Corinthian offender, whom he had denounced, to save him from being too harshly treated.

2. So there is a 'law' of Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 9^{21}); but how different from the Jewish Law! The one inspires us to bear one another's weights (βάρη), the other commands us to bear the burden of its observances.

3. Is this a warning against Pharisaic self-righteousness, or against the temptation to spiritual pride, to which those 'who are spiritual' might be liable?

4. A man must test his own work, and if he honestly feels it to be good, he may be pleased; but he must not compare it with his neighbour's success or failure, and so be provoked to either jealousy or self-pride.

5. A superficial paradox, as compared with v. 2; though the word here used for 'burden' is different (φόρτιον = a man's pack), the difference is not significant. But the sense is perfectly lucid. We are to bear one another's burdens of trouble and sin; but each of us must bear our own burden of responsibility for our work.

D. Special application to the duty of supporting Christian teachers (6^{6-10}).

6. The previous section, though addressed generally to the 'brethren' and among them to 'ye which are spiritual', was yet obviously addressed in a very special sense to the Church's leaders and rulers. This, and the thought of responsibility, leads Paul on now to mention the duty of the Church as a whole to maintain their teachers. This section, therefore, is specially addressed to 'him that is taught' (ὁ κατηχούμενος, the term which later was applied more specifically to those under preparation for baptism, who were called 'catechumens'). They are to 'communicate' (= go shares with) their teachers. This implies that the work of teaching was already a 'whole-time job', and that the teachers could not earn their living by trade or

handicraft. The organization must thus have been fairly well developed. We are told in Acts 14^{23} that Paul ordained 'elders' in the Galatian Churches on his return visit to them.

The duty of supporting the Christian ministry was a new one in the history of religion, and Paul repeatedly urges it, both because of its necessity and because of its educative value. The priests of both Judaism and heathenism were supported out of the sacrifices, the tithes and dues, and the products of the temple estates. But the idea of a voluntary stipend for religious teachers was a novelty, though it had some precedent in the voluntary fees which used to be paid to the Sophists and to the philosophical and rhetorical teachers of Greece. The system of fixed fees had, however, in time become fairly general in the schools of Greece and Rome. Paul never quotes this precedent, but falls back on the principle of honest dealing; he that sows spiritual things has a right to reap worldly things from those to whom he ministers.

7. *mocked*; a strong word. *Lit.* 'to turn the nose up at'.

The proverbial phrase recurs in 2 Cor. 9^{6}. Something like it is seen in Job 4^{8}, Hos. 8^{7}, as also in non-biblical authors. Cicero (*de Orat.* ii. 65) has it exactly—'ut sementem feceris, ita metes', 'as you have sown, so shall you reap'. We may note that, from the particular duty of supporting the ministry, Paul has already gone on to the more general principle of retribution.

8. In v. 7 the idea was that the harvest varies according to the quality of the seed. Here it seems to be that it varies according to the quality of the soil in which the seed is sown. (Cf. Matt. $13^{4-8, 20-3}$ for a somewhat similar change.) But in what sense can 'the Spirit' be a soil, in which men sow? Only if 'the Spirit' is regarded more generally as meaning 'the spiritual realm'. It may be that the flesh and the Spirit are not here regarded as seed-beds, but that Paul means the contrast between the man who sows with the purpose of gaining carnal satisfaction, and the man who sows with the purpose of gaining spiritual good. Once again the idea of 'flesh' is not that of carnal sensuality, but that of living for self, as opposed to living for God. There is probably also an allusion to the difference between the Law, with its fleshly,

THE TEACHING PROFESSION. A Professor's Classroom at Alexandria, from a sarcophagus in Berlin

external ordinances, and the life of Faith, with its spiritual relations.

10. Here Paul comes back from the general idea of well-doing and its harvest, to the particular idea of Christian mutual support.

toward all men. So from early days the Church took care of orphans and rescued exposed children, and ever since has been active in philanthropic endeavour.

the household of the faith (τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως), not 'of the Christian religion'; 'faith' is not yet so used by Paul. The phrase means 'house-children who have the quality of faith', 'the household of believers'.

VI[11-18]. AUTOGRAPHIC CONCLUSION

VI. 11. So far Paul had dictated to his amanuensis. (Cf. Rom. 16[21].) Now (as in 1 Cor. 16[21], Col. 4[18], 2 Thess. 3[17]) he takes up the pen himself and writes a postscript in his own hand. 'I have written' is epistolary aorist (ἔγραψα) and refers not to the previous part of the letter, but to that which he is actually then writing. We should translate it 'I write' or 'am writing'. He writes 'in large letters'. The A.V. 'how large a letter' is wrong. The Greek (πηλίκοις γράμμασιν) can only refer to the size of the actual characters.

All theories which give fanciful explanations of Paul's reason for writing in large letters are merely suppositious, and are generally either fantastic or absurd; as, e.g., that he did so because he was uneducated! or because his hands were roughened by work or injured by suffering, or because his eyesight was bad, or because he was treating the Galatians as children. The only probable explanation is that he does it for emphasis. Ramsay (op. cit., p. 466) tells us that in public proclamations 'attention was often called to some specially important point, especially at the beginning or end, by the use of larger letters', and that examples of this have been found in Pisidian Antioch and in advertisements at Pompeii. This is the principle on which Paul here acts. We may feel that the large letters make a fitting conclusion to this letter.

12. Paul here expresses a very unfavourable opinion of his Jewish adversaries. They are trimmers between

Judaism and Christianity. They desire, by preaching circumcision, to gain credit with the Jews, so as not to be persecuted as Christians. But they are not sincere Jews, and do not themselves keep the Law (this may shed some light on the implication in 5^3; see note ad loc.). We cannot tell whether Paul's opponents deserved this accusation or not. But we can be sure of one thing, that to observe the Mosaic Law scrupulously in Gentile surroundings must have been practically impossible. Paul therefore has ground for accusing these Judaizers of laxity, from a Jewish point of view; and indeed the Jews of Galatia were, as has been said (Essay A), probably lax in their

AN ADVERTISEMENT IN POMPEII

observances; it is at Lystra that Paul met Timothy, who was the offspring of a Gentile father and a Jewish mother.

in the flesh, i.e. in outward rites.

13. Probably a definite accusation of insincerity, and not a recurrence to Paul's conviction, that the Law is so severe that to obey it properly is impossible.

14. Cf. Essay E.

15. All external distinctions are indifferent. What matters is 'a new act of creation', by which we are born again. This seems better than 'a new creature', though the Greek could mean either (καινὴ κτίσις). But 'creation' as an act is a better parallel to 'circumcision' (cf. 2 Cor. 5^{17}).

16. *the Israel of God*; a unique phrase. Contrasted with the Israel after the flesh.

17. The marks or *stigmata* are probably the tokens of his sufferings.[1] These branded him as Christ's slave, and he bore them (*βαστάζω*) 'proudly as an honour or trophy', says Chrysostom (though this may be reading too much into the word. But it means 'carry', not 'endure'). Domestic slaves and temple slaves were alike commonly branded, as a mark of ownership; but some, perhaps fancifully, think the reference too is to the branding of mystic marks to signify that one is under the protection of a god.

Paul's emotion continues to the end; even in this verse it still throbs. His conclusion is brief. It contains no greetings, as do his other letters; either because of the tone of the letter, or because it was a circular letter to a group of churches. But he ends it with the friendly word 'brethren'.

ESSAY K. PAUL'S LETTER AND ITS EFFECT

Paul's Epistles are a priceless possession for all time. They are part of the foundation-documents of Christianity. They are still, and must always be, among the main authorities for all Christian thinking, whether on matters of theology, morals, or devotion. But if we want to use them rightly, we must also bear in mind the historical circumstances of their composition: (1) They are not a compendium of Christian rudiments. They follow on that which Paul had already orally taught. They imply or assume a knowledge of much, as to which they themselves say little or nothing. They have therefore to be placed against a background of Church life, and in a setting of the Church tradition, which was in existence before they were written. (2) They are not in any way systematic formulations of Christian belief or Christian philosophy. Romans, it is true, is something like a public manifesto of Paul's views on the Judaistic controversy; but most of his letters—and Galatians not least of all—are 'occasional',

[1] Devout fancy has often taken this verse to mean that the five wounds of Our Lord were marked on Paul's body. This is purely fanciful. The medieval story of the 'stigmatization' of Francis of Assisi may be connected with such an interpretation of this verse; but no evidence of such a connexion can be adduced.

i.e. provoked by, and written with reference to, a particular situation. In writing this Epistle, Paul had the special circumstances and character of the Galatian Christians in his mind, and wrote directly for them. It is a tribute to his genius that writings so produced should yet be a religious possession of perennial value.

The 'stigmatization' of Francis of Assisi which has sometimes been connected with v. 17

These letters were dictated to a secretary. They bear the marks of the spoken word. In this Epistle those marks are specially prominent, owing to the intensity of the emotion under which Paul was evidently labouring.

So written, the letter was carried to Galatia by a messenger, who would be either one of Paul's personal companions, or, more probably, some Christian from Galatia who had come to visit him and had brought him news of what was taking place in the Galatian Churches. When the letter reached Galatia, it would be put into the hands of the head, or of one of the heads (the presbyters), of the

Church in one of the districts. It would be read at a public assembly of the Church, possibly at the main service on the Lord's day ; it might be read on more than one occasion.

If the heads of the Church were united in disapproving of its contents, they might attempt, no doubt, to suppress it. But Paul must have taken precautions to prevent this from happening. No doubt, though the Galatians were in general tending to relapse to Judaism, there was among them a party which held to Paul's ideas and would see to it that a letter from him would be produced and made public.

Having been read, let us say, at Pisidian Antioch, the letter would then be passed on in turn to Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and any other places in Galatia where a 'church' had been constituted. The bigger centres would make efforts to have a copy of it made, to preserve in their own possession. Knowledge of the existence of the letter, and some general idea of its gist, would gradually spread, through Christians travelling from Galatia to other Christian Churches outside Galatia. These other Churches would, if they felt so disposed, send to borrow the original or a copy, and thence make a copy for their own possession. Thus the Epistle would gradually attain a circulation, and in time this circulation would extend in Christendom. All this, of course, would be the work of time, and must have gone on much more quickly after Paul's martyrdom. By A.D. 150, at the latest, a regular *corpus* of Pauline Epistles seems to have been formed and fairly widely circulated.

As to the effects of the Epistle in Galatia itself, when it arrived there, we have no direct information. It must certainly have excited anger in some circles of the Christian communities of Galatia. It led very possibly to the complete renunciation, by some, of their relations with the Church at large. They would go off to the Jewish synagogue, much as nowadays an offended parishioner or clique of parishioners will go off to join another denomination or will form a new society of their own. We need not suppose that all the Galatian Christians were any more ready to accept and submit to Paul's rebuke, than all Christians in a modern congregation would be ready to accept the rebukes of their official leaders.

In general, however, we can hardly doubt that the Epistle succeeded in its object. We find no traces of any

later movement in Asia Minor towards Mosaic Judaism. The later heresy of Christianity in Asia Minor is not Judaism, but Gnosticism ; and it is certain that, throughout Christendom, Paulinism grew and became the accepted standpoint of the Christian Church. This Epistle registers the first struggle in that development ; and we have no indications but that it won its battle.

We are glad that this is so, not only for the sake of the issue at stake, but also for Paul's own sake. In writing this Epistle, Paul risked all on his personal authority and influence. If he did not succeed here, he condemned himself. If he could not carry his point in the Churches of his own first foundation, he cannot have been a big enough man to be, as history has always regarded him, the protagonist of what has always been known as Paulinism. As Ramsay [1] quite justly points out, ' to regard this letter as unsuccessful is to despair of Paul. The letter, with its commanding and almost autocratic tone—though I feel and confess that these adjectives are too strong, and ignore the emotion, and sympathy, and love which breathe through the words, and take much of the sting from them —is one that could be justified only by success. If it failed, then it deserved to fail. No man has any right to use such a tone to other men, unless it is the suitable and best tone for their good ; and the issue is the only test whether it was suitable and best. Paul's knowledge of human nature in his converts is staked on the success of the letter '.

[1] *Hist. Comment.*, p. 477.

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